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FBIS-EEU-90-172 CONTENTS *5 September 1990*

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

BULGARIA

Final Assembly Proceedings Prior to Recess Noted ... 1
    Minimum Pension Law Debated *[Sofia Radio]* ... 1
    People's Councils Act Amended *[Sofia Radio]* ... 1
    Adjournment Until 11 Sep *[BTA]* ... 1
SDS' Beron Sees No Need for New Elections *[Budapest NEPSZABADSAG 31 Aug]* ... 2
Deputy Khristova Heeds Appeal, Ends Hunger Strike *[DUMA 3 Sep]* ... 3
Stoyanov Rejects Criticisms of Action During Fire *[BTA]* ... 3
Draftees Failing To Report for Military Service *[NARODNA ARMIYA 31 Aug]* ... 3
DUMA Says Nation Facing Starvation, Corruption *[2 Sep]* ... 4
Oil Prospecting Delayed by Shortage of Funds *[VECHERNI NOVINI 28 Aug]* ... 5
Air Force Instructors Protest Over Layoffs *[DEMOKRATSIYA 23 Aug]* ... 5
'Club' for Unemployed Established in Plovdiv *[DUMA 30 Aug]* ... 6
Ruse Citizens Protest Over Continuing Pollution *[Sofia Radio]* ... 6
EC Delegation Arrives; To Examine Reform Process *[Sofia Radio]* ... 6
    Lukanov Receives Group; Hope Expressed *[BTA]* ... 6
    Mission Said 'Encouraging' *[Sofia Radio]* ... 6
Vietnamese Ambassador on Reform, U.S. Relations *[OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK 1 Sep]* ... 6
Import of Electric Power From Turkey Begins *[DUMA 31 Aug]* ... 7

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Pithart Discusses Intergovernmental Talks *[Prague Radio]* ... 8
Christian Democrats Condemn Nationalist Outbursts *[PRACE 25 Aug]* ... 13
HSD Submits Proposal to National Council *[LIDOVE NOVINY]* ... 14
CPSL Losing Members; Reportedly Isolated *[Bratislava PRAVDA 27-28 Aug]* ... 14
Miners End Hunger Strike After Ministers' Visit *[PRACE 25 Aug]* ... 15
Cost of Living Rises Due to Price Increases *[PRACE 25 Aug]* ... 15
CSL Protests Ruling in Bartoncik Affair *[LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE 24-25 Aug]* ... 16
European Movement Begins Work in Prague *[CTK]* ... 16
Press Views Slovak Separatists' Rally *[VEREJNOST, etc.]* ... 16
Report on Slovak Government 24 Aug Session *[NARODNA OBRODA 25 Aug]* ... 17
Slovak Government Ministers Appointed *[CTK]* ... 18
Individual Ministerial Responsibilities Outlined *[NARODNA OBRODA 28 Aug]* ... 18
Slovak Hungarians Reject Accusations of Irredentism *[VEREJNOST 27 Aug]* ... 19
Slovak Minister on 'Small Privatization' Program *[SMENA 25 Aug]* ... 19
Romanies Oppose Separate Slovak State *[MLADA FRONTA 27 Aug]* ... 21
Meciar Denies Any Intentions of Dividing CSFR *[PRACE 25 Aug]* ... 21
Internal Differences Over Economic Reform Settled *[RUDE PRAVO 24 Aug]* ... 22
Commission Formed on New Administrative Structure *[PRACE 25 Aug]* ... 22
175,000 Private Entrepreneurs in Czech Republic *[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 25 Aug]* ... 22
Crime Rate in Bohemia Continues To Grow *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 24 Aug]* ... 23
Religious Education To Begin in September *[LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE 25 Aug]* ... 23
Slovak Premier Criticizes Hungarian 'Interference' *[SMENA 25 Aug]* ... 23
CTK: Hungarian Foreign Minister Criticizes Media *[CTK]* ... 25
Deputy Premier Receives RSFSR's Filshin *[Prague TV]* ... 25
'Regrets' Expressed for Article on Soviet Envoy *[SVOBODNE SLOVO 25 Aug]* ... 25

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Former SED Officials' Investigations Continue *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 29 Aug]* 26
Ex-Stasi Reportedly 'Preselected' La Belle Files *[Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE 4 Sep]* 26
De Maiziere Assesses Economic Ties With Sweden *[East Berlin Radio]* 27

HUNGARY

New Talks To Be Held With Soviets in Sep *[MTI]* 29
Oil, Gas Trust Plans To Buy Oil on Free Market *[MTI]* 29
Iraq Suspends Foreign Debt Repayment *[MTI]* 29
Prime Minister Receives CSFR Ambassador *[MTI]* 30
Defense Minister Fur on Policy, Politics *[Budapest Radio]* 30
National Security, Information Heads Retire *[Budapest Radio]* 31
Antall Holds Talks With Catholic Bishops *[MTI]* 31

POLAND

Skubiszewski: 'Solidarity' Felt With Kuwait *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 30 Aug]* 32
Participation in UN Peace Mission Possible *[PAP]* 32
Skubiszewski on Polish-German Border Treaty *[Warsaw Radio]* 33
Foreign Ministry Protests Berlin Entry Rules *[PAP]* 33
Austria Institutes Visa Requirement for Poles *[Warsaw Radio]* 33
    Visas Introduced for Austrians *[Warsaw TV]* 33
Ambassador Olechowski Queried on NATO Contacts *[TRYBUNA 29 Aug]* 34
KPN Said Still Blocking Soviet Garrision HQ *[Warsaw Radio]* 34
Pollution Problems in Soviet Army Units Viewed *[PAP]* 35
Break in Soviet Oil Supply Reported *[Warsaw Radio]* 35
USSR Grants Access to Katyn Documents *[Warsaw Radio]* 35
Social Democracy's Miller Meets USSR's Yanayev *[PAP]* 35
Cuba Asks Poland To Reschedule Debt Payments *[PAP]* 35
Mazowiecki Leaves for Baltic States Conference *[PAP]* 35
    Returns From Sweden Visit *[PAP]* 35
ROAD Calls for Early Presidential Elections *[PAP]* 36
Spokesman on Possible Jaruzelski Resignation *[PAP]* 36
Bujak Views Situation of Solidarity, Walesa *[Vienna AZ 4 Sep]* 36
Solidarity Official on Presidency, Union Newspaper *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 30 Aug]* 37
Alliance for Democracy Founder Views Solidarity *[TRYBUNA 25-26 Aug]* 37
Center Accord Proposes Walesa for President *[Warsaw Radio]* 38
National Solidarity Commission Meets in Gdansk *[PAP]* 38
Envoy in U.S. Explains Solidarity 'Split' *[PAP]* 39
Solidarity '80 Leader Views Walesa *[PAP]* 39
Solidarity-80 Resolution Rejects Economic Policy *[PAP]* 39
'Solidarity-80' Rally Held in Szczecin *[PAP]* 39
Walesa Meets With ROLA Founders *[PAP]* 40
Walesa Sends Message to Silesian Miners *[PAP]* 40
Council of Ministers Discusses Power Policy *[PAP]* 40
    Views Economic Forecast, Baltic Meeting *[PAP]* 41
Profits of Three Coal Mines Reported *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 23 Aug]* 41
August Economic Performance Figures Reported *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 29 Aug]* 42
Good 1990 Grain Harvest Reported *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 29 Aug]* 42
Government Asked To Adhere to Grain Price Accord *[Warsaw TV]* 43
Planning Office Reports Unemployment Indicators *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 30 Aug]* 43
Gasoline, Diesel Price Hikes Reported *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 1-2 Sep]* 44
Center Accord To Launch New Weekly in Sep *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 30 Aug]* 44

ROMANIA

Increasing Opposition to Iliescu Regime Noted *[DREPTATEA 2 Sep]* 45
Brucan on Role of Army, Securitate in Revolution *[Vienna Radio]* 45
UDMR's Szocs on 'Award' Anniversary Tension *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 29 Aug]* 46

YUGOSLAVIA

USSR's Shevardnadze Sends Gulf Crisis Message *[TANJUG]* 47
Continued Reportage on Visit by Romania's Iliescu 47
    Economic Ties Discussed With Markovic *[TANJUG]* 47
    'New Stage' in Relations Heralded *[Belgrade Radio]* 47
    Meets With Serbia's Milosevic *[TANJUG]* 48
    Meets Jovic; Will Visit Croatia *[TANJUG]* 49
Loncar, Romania's Nastase Discuss Regional Issues *[TANJUG]* 49
FRG's Genscher Arrives for 'Short Working Visit' *[TANJUG]* 50
    More Economic Cooperation 'Promised' *[Hamburg DPA]* 50
    Effects of Iraqi Embargo Discussed *[TANJUG]* 50
Macedonians Protest to Greek Foreign Minister *[TANJUG]* 51
Kosovo Strike Ends; Albanian Shops Still Closed *[TANJUG]* 51
    Strikers 'Will Not Be Dismissed' *[Zagreb Radio]* 52
    Serbian Presidency Issues Statement *[TANJUG]* 52
    Call for Adherence to 'Civil Duties' *[TANJUG]* 52
Serbian Movement Plans Protest at U.S. Embassy *[TANJUG]* 52
Kosovo Alliance Leader on Talks With Congressmen *[TANJUG]* 53
'250,000' Attend Funeral of Kosovar Soldier *[FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT 31 Aug]* 53
Kosovo LC Committee Begins Congress Preparation *[TANJUG]* 53
Serbian Movement Calls for National Declaration *[TANJUG]* 53
Clashes Between Serbs, Muslims Reported in Bosnia *[VECERNJI LIST 30 Aug]* 54
Croatian Prime Minister on Problems With Serbia *[Vienna DIE PRESSE 4 Sep]* 54
'2,000' Serbians Hold Anti-Croat Protest in Knin *[TANJUG]* 55
Serbians Complain Over Makeup of Croat Commission *[TANJUG]* 55
Croat Interior Ministry Delegation Visits Knin *[Belgrade Radio]* 56
Slovene, Croat Defense, Interior Ministers Meet *[Belgrade Radio]* 56
TANJUG Refutes Charges Over Knin Reportage 56
Tudjman, Naval Official Discuss Cooperation *[TANJUG]* 56
Croat Municipal Grouping Ruled Unconstitutional *[TANJUG]* 57
Croat Ministry Denies Employing Renowned Assassin *[TANJUG]* 57
Vojvodina Presidency Supports Draft Constitution *[TANJUG]* 57
Amendments to Macedonian Constitution Proposed *[TANJUG]* 58
Macedonian Executive Council on Security Situation *[TANJUG]* 58
Reform Alliance, Party of Yugoslavs To Cooperate *[BORBA 23 Aug]* 58
Green Party To Register Alone; Outside Coalition *[TANJUG]* 59
'New Democracy' Party Founded in Valjevo *[TANJUG]* 59
Exports, Imports Rise Through Mid-August *[BORBA 22 Aug]* 59
Sandzak Muslims Demanding 'Cultural Autonomy' *[VECERNJI LIST 25 Aug]* 59

Final Assembly Proceedings Prior to Recess Noted

Minimum Pension Law Debated

AU3108155690

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service at 1313 GMT on 31 August carries a 145-minute live relay of the 30th session of the Seventh Grand National Assembly. Academician Nikolay Todorov, Grand National Assembly chairman, chairs the session.

Todorov proposes to hold the next plenary session on 11 September "in order to conduct intensive consultations on forming the government." In the meantime, Todorov says, the Assembly commissions will continue their work on the various draft laws. The Assembly members vote on Todorov's proposal and adopt it with 14 opposing and six abstaining votes.

Next the Assembly begins the discussion of the second item on the agenda: amendments and addenda to the Law on Pensions. On behalf of the National Assembly Bureau, Ginyo Ganev appeals to the Assembly members to make an effort to adopt the draft law today. Ivan Kostov presents the opinion of the National Assembly Economic Commission on the draft law, and demands that the Budget Commission and the Commission on Social Policy also discuss the draft law. In addition he points out the danger of inflation and the threatening budget deficit, and stresses that the proposed amendment—an increase of the minimum pensions by 20 leva—should be considered a temporary measure, and that a new law on pensions is necessary. Kostov also points out that increasing the minimum pension will inevitably prompt pensioners with higher pensions to demand an increase in their pensions, too. In conclusion, Kostov proposes to discuss the pension increase in the commissions, reach a decision there, and then bring the issue to the Grand National Assembly.

A proposal is made to open the discussion on the draft law and continue it after the three Assembly commissions submit their report at one of the following sessions. A discussion develops on the issue whether to hold a discussion on the draft law. Eventually the Assembly members agree to continue the discussion and limit the statements to five minutes. The discussion continues, with members generally supporting the need to increase the minimum pension. A spokesman for the Agrarian Party parliamentary group is heard to argue for increasing the minimum monthly pension to 140 leva.

The live relay ends when the chairman of the session calls a "short recess."

People's Councils Act Amended

AU3108202590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] At today's session of the Grand National Assembly, the members adopted a Law on Amendments and Additions to the Law on the People's Councils. Because of the disputes which arose concerning certain clauses in the law, it was decided to vote on the bill paragraph by paragraph. According to the adopted amendments and additions, during the period from the expiry on 28 August 1990 of the term of the powers of the people's councils, until the election of new executive organs, the functions of the executive councils and the township councils are exercised by interim oblast and municipal executive committees and temporary township boards. Only those employed or living in the respective populated area may apply for membership of the interim boards of the townships.

The Grand National Assembly adopted the interpretation of the last paragraph in the sense that persons may be appointed as members who at the date of their appointment are living or working in the given populated area.

The law prescribes that no single political force may hold a majority in the interim executive committees nor in the interim executive boards.

The executive committees and township councils are bound, within a period of 10 days following the appointment of the interim organs of authority, to give accountability reports on the fulfillment of their budgets.

The elections of the new people's councils and township councils must be held no later than three months from the date the law comes into force, which is the day on which the law is published in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK.

After adopting the Law on Amendments and Additions to the Law on the People's Councils, the members of the Grand National Assembly continued today's session with a discussion of the draft law on amendments and additions to the Pensions Act. The draft law submitted by the Council of Ministers proposes that the minimum level of labor pensions should be increased from 100 to 120 leva. During the debate the view of the Economic Commission of the Grand National Assembly was put forward, according to which this law should conform with the future economic reform and the transition to a market economy; the most important step proposed by the commission was that compensation should be paid to maintain the purchasing power of pensions.

Despite lively debates, the members did not reach a unanimous view, and the draft law was not put to the vote at today's session.

The session of the Grand National Assembly is continuing behind closed doors. It is envisaged that the session is discussing the conditions for the work of the parliamentary organs.

Adjournment Until 11 Sep

AU3108191490 Sofia BTA in English 1820 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 31 Aug (BTA)—The Grand National Assembly will resume its session on September 11. Today, a month and a half after they went into regular business, the M.P.'s decided to adjourn their proceedings for ten days. The break will be used for consultations on the composition of the new government and for work on the bills in the standing committees. Parliament constituted 16 standing committees and ad hoc committees to draft a new constitution, to check the M.P.'s credentials, to look into the records of the M.P.'s, etc.

While it was in session, the Grand National Assembly passed two laws and nearly 50 resolutions, declarations and addresses and answers to quite a few questions.

The Grand National Assembly managed to accept the resignation of the president of the Republic, Mr. Petur Mladenov, and to elect to this office Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev and General Atanas Semerdzhiev as vice president. Parliament heard the government's report and accepted its resignation. Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov was asked to form a new cabinet.

The M.P.'s adopted an address to the Parliament of Romania in connection with the environmental situation in the city of Ruse; a declaration condemning the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia, and decisions on Bulgarian political and economic emigrants and on the removal of foreign symbols from public buildings. They voted resolutions on a number of important events in Bulgaria: the arson of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] Supreme Council headquarters in Sofia and breaches of the peace. They imposed a moratorium on the death penalty and on the disposal of state, municipal and cooperative property.

They did not manage to hold a hearing of Todor Zhivkov, who at first requested it himself but then refused to appear in parliament.

No unanimous decision was reached on the formation of a commission of inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the resignation of Mr. Petur Mladenov.

SDS' Beron Sees No Need for New Elections

AU0409113190 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 31 Aug 90 p 2

[Interview with Petur Beron by Karoly Nagy; place and date not given: "How Could We Want the Power?"; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] Petur Beron granted our paper an interview, which we asked MTI's correspondent in Sofia to conduct for us. The 49-year-old Beron is a complete newcomer on the political scene. However, as a scientist he has been well known for a long time, all the more so because he is the descendant of Dr. Petur Beron (1800-1871), who played a significant role in the development of secular teaching in Bulgaria, as well as in the renewal of the nation's culture, and who lent his name to several streets and institutions in Bulgaria. The Cultural Center in Sofia also carries the name of Petur Beron, and that was where the opposition organizations—which at the time called themselves "independent"—were first able to meet. As far as his qualifications are concerned, Beron is a biologist, and that was why, last spring, the independent environmental protection organization Ecoglasnost asked him to be their expert. Following the creation of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] in December 1989, Beron became the secretary of the Coordinating Council, and after the election of Zhelev as president of the Republic, a few weeks ago, Beron became the chairman of that council. The opposition alliance encompasses 16 parties and organizations, and is extremely complex. Dr. Petur Beron is one of the more moderate members.

[Nagy] As an impartial foreign observer, my impression is that the opposition is trying to force through new parliamentary elections as soon as possible because it does not expect much from the present parliament, and Bulgarians are also saying that.

[Beron] That is incorrect. We do not want new elections at all. That would be very complicated, and there is no need for new elections today. All we want is for parliament to fulfil its duties, to introduce the new necessary laws, and to draw up the new constitution. Then we can hold new elections. Furthermore, we have to organize local elections before the parliamentary elections. Mayors and council leaders have to be replaced everywhere.

[Nagy] I do not think that the parliamentary representatives of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] are preventing progress. However, the opposition repeatedly attacks the people within the BSP who are in favor of reforms. I agree with you when you say that the local nomenclaturas in the countryside are still untouchable, but I think that this is precisely why the opposition should join forces with the reformers within the BSP to fight against the dogmatic conservatives and the extremists within the SDS.

[Beron] That is exactly what we are doing.

[Nagy] That is not what it looks like in parliament.

[Beron] It does not look like that, but it is a fact.

[Nagy] Many people believe that the best thing would be for the BSP and the SDS to fall apart, because the only thing that keeps these two "big ones" together is hatred for each other.

[Beron] That is completely correct. However, the SDS cannot fall apart until the BSP surrenders its power.

[Nagy] How could the BSP surrender its power when it has an absolute majority in parliament? Only new elections could change that.

[Beron] Well, if the Socialists have the majority, they should form a government. However, they do not want to do that.

[Nagy] That is understandable. Bulgaria's situation is serious.

[Beron] Yet they claim to have a program that could lead the country out of the crisis. They should do that.

[Nagy] As far as I know, the BSP only sees that as feasible if it can cooperate with all political forces.

[Beron] Why do the Tories and the Labour Party in Britain not govern together? Why do they not have a coalition?

[Nagy] There are huge differences between the situation and circumstances of those two countries. Following one of his visits to Sofia, even Robert Maxwell said that there was a need for a coalition here.

[Beron] Robert Maxwell should give advice to the British Government. We do not need his advice.

[Nagy] As far as I know, you received paper for your newspaper from him.

[Beron] That does not mean that he can advise us. We do not accept any "offers" from anybody.

[Nagy] Do you really believe that the SDS will not fall apart before it accedes to power?

[Beron] Under no circumstances will it fall apart before the BSP surrenders its power.

[Nagy] How could it do that, though?

[Beron] Just like that.

[Nagy] How? How could the majority in parliament hand over the power to the minority.... How could that work?

[Beron] You will see for yourself.

Deputy Khristova Heeds Appeal, Ends Hunger Strike

AU0509092390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 3 Sep 90 p 1

[Unattributed DUMA report: "Deputy Mariana Khristova Breaks Off her Hunger Strike"]

[Text] Yesterday, Mariana Khristova, Grand National Assembly deputy representing the 50th Pleven single-mandate district, Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] received a letter from the president of the Republic in connection with her recent hunger strike. Zhelyu Zhelev's letter reads as follows:

"I share your concern and indignation over the disruption of law and order in the country and over the attempts to exert pressure and discredit the work of the Grand National Assembly.

"I assure you that I am ready to do everything possible within the framework of the competences granted to me by the Constitution to ensure the observance of the law in our country and the protection of citizens' rights and freedoms.

"I am convinced that the efficient work of our parliament is a basic guarantee for civic peace and the development of democratic processes. This work can be safeguarded with the efforts of all National Assembly deputies and all political forces represented in parliament.

"In expressing my best feelings for you and my respect for your protest action, I appeal to you to interrupt your hunger strike.

"Let us work with joint efforts for civic peace and calm in our country."

Mariana Khristova has already received letters of response from Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov and Stoyan Stoyanov, acting minister of internal affairs, to whom she addressed her claims. They assured her that they are ready to fulfill their duties in connection with guaranteeing civic peace and promoting the development of democratic processes in the country, in connection with guaranteeing favorable conditions for the work of the Grand National Assembly and its members, pledging that they would never allow genocide for political reasons.

Deputy Khristova has broken off her hunger strike and expressed gratitude to Sofia citizens and people from all over the country who supported her protest action with letters and telegrams and were concerned about her health, and she also expressed her gratitude to the group of 120 parliament members who signed a declaration in support of her claims.

Stoyanov Rejects Criticisms of Action During Fire

AU0409194290 Sofia BTA in English 1908 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Sofia, 4 Sep (BTA)—Stoyan Stoyanov, acting minister of the interior, disagrees with the reproaches spreading among the public in this country and addressed at the security forces related with their actions late last week during the time of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] Supreme Council headquarters arson here.

Mr. Stoyanov said during this evening's central information emission of national TV that the leadership of the Ministry of the Interior and the officers have made mistakes but they have not been inert.

Stoyan Stoyanov made it clear that the security bodies and the firemen have been hampered on purpose by people on the square and that the situation permitted the use of weapons which, however, according to him, would have brought to escalation of tensions in the country.

The acting minister of interior said that the excesses that night were an organized event for which the security forces had no information in advance.

Draftees Failing To Report for Military Service

AU0409130490 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 31 Aug 90 p 5

[Report on interview with "Officer Vasil Vasilev, head of department at the Ministry of National Defense," by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "The Rabbits Are Not Only Hunted—They Also Run"]

[Excerpts] In 1989 in Khaskovo Oblast alone 500 sons of Bulgaria did not report to the recruitment commissions. The number for the entire country was 1,000! The situation has become even more alarming during 1990. [passage omitted]

According to the people who deal with recruitment, the basic reason for refusing to report to the recruitment commissions and trying to avoid service in the Bulgarian People's Army is not so much the recently intensified negative approach toward military service, the deformations and accidents in the military camps, or ethnic motives (all of which have a certain influence), as the fact that all issues related to recruitment are resolved only by the military adminstrations, without sufficient intervention and assistance on the part of the townships and the bodies of law and order. Let us not forget that the fine for failing to report to the recruitment commission is about...20 leva (!?). The actions of many military administrations are indicative of this situation. Finding no cooperation on the part of the militia and the prosecution organs, they themselves track down those who have evaded military service (and sometimes, willingly or unwillingly actually help them to avoid the service altogether.)

We talked with officer Vasil Vasilev, department head at the Ministry of National Defense, about this and other issues. He cited two instructive cases.

[Reporter] Are the cases of failing to report to the recruitment commissions a frequent phenomenon?

[Vasilev] At present the situation in Kurdzhali is alarming. Only half of the 60-70 people who ought to report daily actually do report. The explanations of their relatives, after we track them down, are more than naive. The heads of the military departments in the municipalities cannot cope with the situation. They do not receive the necessary support in this respect from the organs of the Ministry of National Defense.

In Sofia, two weeks before the work of the commissions is due to conclude, some 1,000 people have failed to report. We must track them down. We shall use additional means and capacities. Can you imagine what it would mean if we fail to provide the units with the soldiers they need? [passage omitted]

[Reporter] How do those youths who fail to report explain their tardiness?

[Vasilev] They put forward various reasons. Most often they justify themselves by saying that they have not received or have not seen the summons. We have difficulties in the big cities in this respect. In these cities the head of the military administration has only two subordinate inspectors. What are they supposed to do first? Yes, the best thing would be to personally hand the summons to the recruitees, and in many places we strive to do this. It would help if we could use the possibilities of the mass media. [passage omitted]

DUMA Says Nation Facing Starvation, Corruption

AU0409084590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 2 Sep 90 p 1

[Unattributed editorial]

[Text] Let us no longer remain silent. Let the competent government representatives stop deceiving us. Sofia, and the whole country, like the capital, are threatened by starvation. Observers from the Western press are also predicting this.

The picture of the Sofia streets is devastating and evokes despair. People are standing in long lines in front of the shops. Wherever people are standing in line the stores are closed. Most supermarkets can already be used as gymnasiums for sports and games, because they have nothing, absolutely nothing to sell. People are lining up for sugar, but they have not seen any cooking oil, cheese, or sausages for the last weeks and months. Only some meat appears on the market, presumably because the cattle are being slaughtered for lack of fodder.

While we are daily witnessing heated discussions between the government and the opposition on all sorts of questions (even on the adoption of the parliament's agenda), we have never heard anything about the parliament members' views on the most important question of all: namely, the problem of our subsistence and survival. Yes, it is a question of our survival, because, if today, at the end of this summer, and considering this season's rich harvest, our freezers and storage houses are empty, while vegetables are still sold at astronomic prices compared to the average Bulgarian's monthly wages, what will happen when fruit and vegetables disappear from the market?

DUMA has already suggested to the president of the Republic that he should immediately leave for abroad to seek foreign assistance, but we also understand that this is not enough. It is not enough, because we should first introduce law and order in our own home. It is more than evident that corruption and the black market prevail in the country, while the competent organs report only from time to time about an insignificant number of people who were fined, or subject to legal action. Entire trucks loaded with foodstuffs disappear on the way from the enterprises to the food stores. Goods also disappear from the shops, being resold by shady businessmen at triple and even at quadruple prices. In the meantime the members of parliament at the Grand National Assembly are proposing to adopt a law on the struggle against black marketeering, but this law will presumably be adopted at a time when the starving Bulgarian citizens have already engaged in riots.

Our question is: How long will the country be subject to lawlessness which transforms it into a scene of anarchy, violence, black market, and corruption?

Bulgaria has gone through difficult periods in the past, rationing has also existed, but never have the stores been as empty as today, and never have the prices been as high as today. Under such circumstances even the talk about indexing wages and increasing pensions becomes unnecessary, because inflation and high prices would swallow up all such increases.

It is not true that our country has no government today. Such a situation would be unthinkable in any civilized state. As long as new ministers have not been appointed, the existing ministries are still in office and one would expect them to see to their business. Unfortunately, they do not see to their business, because if they did, if the entire administration from the top echelon to the lowest ranks saw to its business, the country would not look as devastated as it does now.

Feeding the population should be the chief concern of the executive power, namely of the government, and this concern should prevail over all other tasks. It is preposterous to go on discussing our road to Europe while we are still unable to reach the shelves of the bread shop.

Oil Prospecting Delayed by Shortage of Funds

AU3108143990 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 28 Aug 90 p 2

[Boyka Rangelova article: "Now There is Oil, Now There Is Not"]

[Text] If the USSR and Kuwait fail to supply the contracted quantities of petroleum before the end of the year, we, ourselves, will not only freeze, but we will also have to shut down production in a large proportion of the industrial enterprises. Are we in a position to help ourselves?

It is no secret that prospecting for oil and natural gas is being carried out on the country's territory. Natural gas deposits have been discovered near the villages of Uglen, Kriva Bara, and Kilifarevo. The gas geyser which caused a fire a year ago during drilling near the village of Butan, provided direct proof of the discovery of a further deposit of gas, and perhaps of petroleum too. Further investigations will finally determine the position.

Oil prospectors in Pleven have discovered petroleum deposits near the village of Bokhot.

Funds are required to continue investigations and bring the fields into production, said Dimitur Andreev, deputy chairman for economic matters at the Geology Committee of the Council of Ministers. However, this year we do not have a single cent of foreign currency. If we are provided with 40 million leva and about $8 million, we will then have complete results from the preliminary investigations at Uglen, Butan, Bokhot, and Kriva Bara. We are in a position to bring these fields into operation before 1993. Our budget funds for investment this year have been cut by 30 million leva, and for 1991 we have been recommended to look for "nonbudget methods of financing." At the start of the year we applied to the Ministry of Finance for a credit of 20 million leva, but we received only half of this. Beginning from 1991, petroleum and natural gas will be supplied only against payment in convertible currency. For this reason, we must give high priority to implementing our accelerated domestic program for oil and gas prospecting and production.

Similar reasons have so far prevented us from carrying out prospecting in northeastern Bulgaria and in the Black Sea shelf zone. These zones will be surveyed in cooperation with Western companies. During the period of prospecting and investigation, the risks will be totally borne by our foreign partners. Only when positive results are obtained, will we set up an enterprise with 50-percent participation in the profits. The contract provides that the company which discovers the deposits will pay taxes, duties, and premiums to Bulgaria. We cannot expect real geological results from the investigations in these regions until 1993 at the earliest, while oil and gas production would start two or three years after this.

The sharp rises in the price of oil on the world market and in the prices of petroleum products in Bulgaria provide very good reasons for increasing our own production from the relatively small fields in Bulgaria.

If the two projects were completed, the specialists of the Geology Committee would be able to supply about 15 percent of the country's annual oil requirements with home-produced petroleum. This would mean that the state's investments would effectively be recouped within five or six years.

Air Force Instructors Protest Over Layoffs

AU3108152290 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 23 Aug 90 p 2

[Text] Because of the introduction of the new staff establishment levels, and on the basis of Article 328, Paragraph 1, Subsection 2 of the Labor Code (concerning staff reductions), on 1 September 1990, 30 civilian lecturers at the G. Benkovski Higher People's Air Force School will lose their jobs, and a further 35 lecturers, assistants, docents, and candidates of sciences will be released in the period until 1 September 1991. Officers from military units will be appointed to the vacant posts. We regard this act as illegal and biased.

The people losing their jobs are highly qualified specialists with many years of accumulated teaching experience, knowledge, scientific achievements, and all the necessary prerequisites for training highly professional cadres. Persons without the necessary qualifications will be appointed to our posts. From the viewpoint of the state's interests, this act may be assessed as seriously affecting the level of military education for the next several years, because the main disciplines, in the fields of general education and general engineering, form the basis for the study of special military subjects.

The attempt of the military institutes to rid themselves of democratically minded lecturers may lead to the Army becoming a closed caste institution. Some persons, it appears, see us as a danger which threatens the interests and peace of mind of the officers who are eligible for retirement, but who are not members of the military bureaucratic elite.

We consider that it is necessary to repeal the section of Order U-5568 of the minister of national defense, under which we have been notified in advance of the reductions in our staff establishments on 1 September 1990. This order is essentially directed against the interests of the Army and the state.

Signatures of 26 persons follow.

'Club' for Unemployed Established in Plovdiv

AU3108165890 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 30 Aug 90 p 3

[Stefan Severin report: "Club of the Unemployed in Plovdiv"]

[Text] Plovdiv, 29 Aug—The number of the unemployed in Plovdiv is constantly rising and it is anticipated that about 8,000 workers will lose their jobs in main enterprises in the city. This prompted the municipal trade union council to establish a club for the unemployed.

This club will duplicate the employment office. The unemployed will receive free advice on legal and labor issues at the club, and those who do not receive assistance from the state institutions will receive social help. Free food will be provided. The club will be financed by membership fees and contributions from the industrial enterprises.

Ruse Citizens Protest Over Continuing Pollution

AU0409202790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] The citizens of Ruse will pass a vote of no confidence in the government if their ecological problem is not solved, even after their planned protest actions. This decision was adopted at a meeting of the Committee for Saving Ruse, which was founded several weeks ago with the participation of all the political forces, independent organizations, and movements in the city.

Before a vote of no confidence is adopted on the government measures against the ecological genocide caused by the chemical plants in Giurgiu, plans are being made for the whole population to leave the town as a sign of protest; to give briefings to European journalists; and to form an ecological service within the Ruse Municipal People's Council, as well as to hold various forms of mass protests to publicize the fate of their town.

The members of the Committee for Saving Ruse discussed these measures at a meeting with members of the Grand National Assembly. At the meeting the need was stressed to involve more European and world public organizations in publicizing this vital problem for the citizens of Ruse.

EC Delegation Arrives; To Examine Reform Process

AU0309210190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] An EC delegation, composed primarily of specialists from the economic and financial directorate, arrived in Bulgaria today. The delegation is headed by Mr. De Macedo [name as heard], a high ranking functionary of the community.

The experts are expected to meet representatives of the Economic Policy Commission of the Grand National Assembly, and functionaries of the Finance Ministry and other ministries, in order to become closely acquainted with the situation in our country and with the progress of economic reform in Bulgaria.

Lukanov Receives Group; Hope Expressed

AU0409115190 Sofia BTA in English 1057 GMT 4 Sep 90

["Optimism About Bulgaria-EC Contacts"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 4 Sep (BTA)—Mr. Braga de Macedo, the representative of the Commission of the European Communities, who was received today by the Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov, said he was optimistic about the promotion of cooperation between Bulgaria and the EC. Mr. Braga de Macedo said he was pleased with his talk with Mr. Lukanov at which they considered the progress of the economic reform in Bulgaria. The EC official is hopeful about the further successful cooperation of Bulgaria with the community and with the International Monetary Fund.

Mission Said 'Encouraging'

AU0409185090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Today, Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the government, held talks with a commission of experts from the EC led by De Macedo, a high-ranking EC official.

The experts' mission is encouraging for us; it is connected with undertaking further steps to intensify the cooperation between Bulgaria and the EC and to provide support for the economic reform underway in Bulgaria.

The experts asked to receive additional information on the state of the economic processes in Bulgaria, which is to provide a basis for the EC to make the relevant decisions in relation to Bulgaria. The guests expressed satisfaction with the content of the discussions held with the Economic Policy Commission of the Grand National Assembly and other bodies, as well as with the frank and businesslike tone in which the talks were held.

Vietnamese Ambassador on Reform, U.S. Relations

AU0409082590 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 1 Sep 90 p 5

[Interview with Vietnamese Ambassador Nguyen Tien Thong by Maria Netsova; place and date not given: "Vietnam's Specific Situation"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Netsova] What do you think of the current changes in Eastern European countries?

[Nguyen Tien Thong] We respect the changes in Eastern Europe, but we regard them as internal affairs of the relevant countries. We would like to pursue our relations of friendship and cooperation with the Eastern European countries, and not only with them. Only a few thousand Vietnamese workers have remained in the Eastern European countries and they are expected to return to Vietnam. We have difficulties in connection with providing jobs for the people of working age. However, we shall find a way to resolve this question—perhaps in the spirit of our popular saying: "If you manage to subsist on a small amount of food, you can also learn how to keep warm with a small blanket."

[Netsova] Can you describe the changes occurred in Bulgarian-Vietnamese relations over the last years?

[Nguyen Tien Thong] In 1990 the exchange of goods between our country and Bulgaria doubled in comparison with 1989. Direct links were established between Vietnamese and Bulgarian producers in the silkworm industry, in the production of rubber, coffee, jute, and oil producing plants. All Vietnamese workers are expected to leave your country by 1992. Agreements should be strictly observed.

I asked my interviewee whether the Western countries are expected to withdraw their blockade against Vietnam, considering that the chief condition has been observed, namely that the Vietnamese troops have withdrawn from Cambodia. According to Mr. Nguyen, relations between Vietnam and the Western countries are developing favorably, and by May 1990 alone, nearly 30 Asian and European countries have invested capital worth over $ 1 billion in the Vietnamese economy.

[Netsova] Relations between Vietnam and the United States have recently intensified. Under what conditions and at what time could the interrupted diplomatic relations between the two countries be resumed?

[Nguyen Tien Thong] Sooner, or later, Vietnam and the United States are expected to normalize their relations. We confirm that not even one living U.S. soldier is still detained on our territory. As far as the search for their mortal remains is concerned, it is difficult, considering that the majority of them perished in aircraft, or in the jungle, but the joint investigations are, nonetheless, pursued.

[Netsova] It is evident that the present relations between Hanoi and Beijing are far from that image of inseparability, "as close as lips and teeth." Some teeth fell out during the 1979 conflict, but it seems that Beijing has not entirely revised its approach to its former "younger brother in the south."

[Nguyen Tien Thong] I think that your question is not entirely correct. Vietnam and China are two neighboring countries whose peoples are linked to each other by long-standing traditional friendship. Vietnam already expressed its desire for a normalization of its relations with China. We are confident that the differences in our stands will be gradually smoothed out until they reach a permanent state of normalization. As far as the Cambodian problem is concerned, the solution of this difficult problem does not depend on Vietnam. The path of negotiations is the only possible method for this solution.

Import of Electric Power From Turkey Begins

AU0309104990 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
31 Aug 90 p 2

[Krasimir Tsigularov report: "Bulgaria Also Receives Electric Power From Turkey"]

[Text] Bulgarian Radio quoted the ANATOLIA NEWS AGENCY and reported yesterday that Bulgaria began to import electric power from Turkey. We asked Petur Pavlov, department head at the Central Control [Dispechersko] Administration, for further details:

In August, an agreement was signed between Bulgaria and Turkey on mutual assistance in power supply when needed. Thus, the electric power line, through which we exported power to our southern neighbors until 1984, began to function again. During peak power usage periods, we can rely on receiving 200 megawatts.

The protocol is not a contract on the purchase of power. The quantities we will receive now must be returned during periods of lower demand on our power supply system, when needed by Turkey. Bulgaria has such agreements with Greece, Yugoslavia, Albania, and Switzerland. In addition to the new protocol with Turkey, we also have a contract on the transfer of power from Turkey to Romania, according to which we collect the appropriate transit tax.

However, the alleviation of our power supply system will not significantly affect the population's needs. It is expected that between 15-30 September, units producing 800 megawatts, which have been disconnected for repair, will be connected again. However, yesterday one of the 210-megawatt blocks of the Maritsa-East 2 Electric Power Plant was on the verge of being disconnected. The reason: lack of lubricants for the turbine. In addition, the oil shock that affected our oil-processing combines threatens to inflict a crucial blow on our power supply later on. The new problems, in addition to the lack of materials, the impossibility to conduct normal repair works, and the lack of water for the hydroelectric plants, strengthen our expectations for a dark and cold winter.

Pithart Discusses Intergovernmental Talks

LD0409115190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0825 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Speech by Czech Premier Petr Pithart at 4 September Czech National Council session in Prague—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted on reporter setting the scene at the Czech National Council session, noting that the deputies are waiting to hear Pithard speak about the Trencianske Teplice meeting of the three governments]

Esteemed chairwoman, esteemed ladies and gentlemen, esteemed Czech National Council: I asked to speak because I consider it my duty to give you a report on the activity of the government in recent months, which has been led by efforts to strengthen the position of the Czech Republic, and at the same time by efforts to strengthen the federal union of both national republics.

What do I want to say to you here today, and also through radio and television to the citizens of both republics? Above all, that there is no other way of strengthening the federation than to strengthen the jurisdiction of the republics. This is not a contradiction. The basis of the federation is the will of both nations to live together. Everything else, in particular the forms of this living together, are only derived from it. Without this will—and by this I naturally mean a will which emerges from mutual trust, understanding, and willingness—coexistence is impossible. No constitutional guarantees, no federal apparatus, no matter how good it may be, can hold both nations together if they themselves do not wish it.

Today, however, our nations communicate together so insufficiently that it is almost frightening. It is practically impossible to get Slovak newspapers in the Czech lands, Moravia, and Silesia. I have said this many times already, but I must repeat it: As far as I know, the dailies published in the Czech Republic do not have their own correspondents in Slovakia, possibly with one exception. It is only very exceptional when television enables us to watch the same thing as Slovak viewers, and vice versa. This is an extremely risky situation, in my view more important than speeches by Slovak separatists. I ask you to think about this. This is not simply caused by a poor solution to a technical problem, ladies and gentlemen. And today, ten months after November, it is not just a remnant of the old regime. Let us not have any illusions about this.

This disinterest, which gives rise to one misunderstanding after another, is the real threat to our mutual coexistence and not discussions about the future form of the federation. They, on the other hand, are the result of interest in this coexistence. If Mr. Meciar's government was not interested in coexistence with us, it would not care about our views and expectations, it would not be interested in meeting with us. The citizens of the Czech Republic are, therefore, dependent on how our journalists see the situation. I have no doubt that I will not be in their good books if I say that not all of them behave responsibly. I am not calling on them to be responsible, however, as I have no right to do this. This is up to the readers, but in the final analysis it is up to their own consciences. I can only hope, therefore, that the editorial office of OBCANSKY DENNIK [newspaper of Civic Forum] has at least found in itself a little self-criticism, although after the event, when it had earlier given the headline 'Slovakia Wants Independence' to its comment on the Ruzomberok celebrations. In the same way, I hope that the author of a commentary in LIDOVE NOVINY, who is concerned that the Trencianske Teplice talks will in the end result in passengers having to change from Czech to Slovak trains in Malacky [town on railway line to Bratislava], will sober up. Such changes of train are not even necessary en route from Prague to Neuremberg. Such a change is only necessary in Cierna nat Tisou [border with Soviet Union].

In this situation of disinterest on the part of the media to understand the situation in Slovakia first hand—that is, themselves and from their own observations—the whole weight of responsibility rests on the political representatives. During the parliamentary holiday period, this weight rested on the governments. I hope that you, as deputies of the Czech National Council, will now share this burden with the government, and that you will express yourselves on what the government has or has not done, or rather how well or how badly it did it. This is why I am presenting you, and through you also the citizens of the Czech Republic, with this report today.

The present Constitution does not make any provision at all for meetings and talks—that is, joint activity—between both governments. If we left everything to the Constitutions, I would perhaps meet Mr. Meciar here and there at some reception or at the airport, but perhaps not. I know of this gulf in our constitutional system, and since I became premier, I have been doing everything to bridge it. On 6 February I was elected by the Presidium of the Czech National Council. On 7 February I left for Brno, and the next morning for Bratislava. I went there in order to agree with former premier Cic on a meeting between the two of us, individual ministers, and the whole governments on as regular a basis as possible. We then invited the Slovak Government to Lnare where we had riskily open—but as was shown later—very useful talks. We met as two competing teams, carefully evaluating each other, and we parted as friends, resolved to cooperate on a joint basis toward a real federation. We—that is, the governments—should have met before the elections in Slovakia. In the end this did not take place as a result of the tense situation before the elections, in particular in Slovakia. We then met on the day the president of the republic met both governments at the [Prague] castle. I invited Mr. Meciar and the economics ministers of the Slovak Government shortly after that for a two-day working meeting in Luhacovice.

The development leading up to Transianske Teplica was logical; it was no radical change, no surprise, at least not for those who made the effort and carefully read the government statements of all three governments. It followed on from our earlier initiatives. Already in the joint statement by the Governments of the Czech and Slovak Republics of 11 April in Lnare, it was stated that, I quote: The governments are unequivocal in agreement that the use of resources created will be under the jurisdiction of each of the two republics. The jurisdiction and justified needs of the federation will depend on the will of both nations and their legislative and government representative bodies. In this spirit, the governments were in full agreement on the draft principles of the 1991 budget rules and for the following years, which they intend to put forward to their legislative bodies. This should at the same time put an end to the question of who pays for whom. While insuring the vital integrity of each of the national economies, both governments do not lose sight of interest in the real unity of the economy, of our joint state. In Lnare, both governments also agreed that they should require that the premiers of the national republics' governments should not in the future be the deputy premiers of the federal government. Nevertheless, this did not appear in the communique, as we did not wish to face the federal government with a fait acompli.

The program statement of the federal government fully met the position of the national government from Lnare, or at least that was the impression given on reading this program statement. It said, among other things, and I quote: Prosperous republics need a strong federation, and a strong federation can emerge only from the authentic will of strong republics. It also says: At the same time, we envisage the elimination of excessive centralism in the management of the entire state administration. Republican bodies will be able to fulfill the role of the center much more. And elsewhere it says: The Federal Government will respect the viewpoints of the republican governments and take them into account when making a decision. We expect the same attitude of partnership from the republican governments. We are abandoning the undignified practice, whereby the premiers of the republican governments were implementing, as deputy federal prime ministers, various decisions made by that body.

The Slovak Government's policy statement was absolutely clear. I would like to know how many responsible political representatives at the federal level and Czech politicians in general have read that statement. I know that Premier Calfa read it and had a good understanding of it. If he was not, however, as I fear, rather alone in it, the talks in Trencianske Teplice could not have provoked such a surprise and astonishment.

The Czech Government's policy statement, which you have approved following a detail discussion said, and I quote: The basis for the development of Czech statehood on the principle of a federative arrangement of Czechoslovakia must be the Constitution of the Czech Republic. On its basis, and on the basis of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic, the Constitution of the federation will be created, for the federation will be endowed with such powers as the republics will transfer to it from their original area of competence. The government will strive to insure that the Constitution expresses the increasing independence and accountability of all bodies when deciding the future social and economic development of the republic.

We said elsewhere: The government will assert that, while respecting the mutual delimitation of the functions of the federation and the national republics, the state budget of a republic will be understood in such a way as to insure that it is no longer dependable on the budget of the federation. The fact that the Czech National Council will decide how to utilize those resources created on the territory of the republic, with the exception of those resources which it will allocate for the needs of the federation, is an expression of the sovereignty and economic independence of the republics. And finally we wrote into the policy statement: Basic changes in the approach to economic management, linked with the transition to a market mechanism, will require a totally different approach by the government and individual ministries. Our aim is to bring about a state, whereby the effective development of the economy will be secured by the state with the minimal number of authorities. This, however, now necessarily requires the restructuring of some ministries, and this requires a change to the law on terms of reference [kompetencni zakon].

I dare to assert that all three governments have been proceeding from the same premise of the relationship among the republics and the federation. Despite this, an impression arose following the meeting in Trencianske Teplice that the Slovak Government had gone too far, and that the Czech government had been retreating because of its unpreparedness. The meeting in Trencianske Teplice had been convened by the Federal Government; specifically by Mr. Rychetsky on the initiative of Premier Calfa. The thing is that at a meeting of premiers of all three governments with the president—held coincidentally a day before the Federal Assembly approved the law on terms of reference—Premier Meciar came up with the proposal that Federal Premier Meciar should appear before the Federal Assembly to acquaint deputies with the timetable of devolving further powers from the federal to the republican level. To enable Premier Calfa to form a clearer notion about the republican governments' thinking on the subject, he asked his deputy to convene a conference, or rather an informative meeting, at which the republican governments would outline their thinking.

This is how the meeting in Trencianske Teplice arose. It happened that the meeting had been described on television the night before as a summit, and I am convinced that because of that a rather heavy climate of mistrust and suspicion began to emerge around that meeting.

A summit is a meeting at the highest level. At it, the most important decisions are made. In effect, a summit confirms what was prepared and agreed by experts a long time ago. The meeting in Trencianske Teplice was anything but a summit. The delegations, which were composed of two members of the presidia from all three governments, naturally did not have any powers to decide anything, and indeed they did not decide anything. For a working meeting there is no need for any powers to be given and no preliminary agreement by anyone. From a working conference journalists can be given more or less detailed information, while not to say everything about a summit means to turn it into a meeting of plotters. In contrast to a summit, experts of three governments will be called additionally in order to examine the proposals of the meeting from the viewpoint of an optimal functioning of both the federation and the republics, submit their considered opinions to the main political forces, governments, and the national legislative bodies. The decision in the end, however, rests with the Federal Assembly and no one else.

And here, problems have arisen in regard to how much the public was informed, and around the issue of whether someone exceeded one's authority. The second question can be answered straight away and easily: Nothing was decided in Trencianske Teplice, because nothing could have been decided there. I can state on my behalf and on behalf of Czech Deputy Premier Frantisek Vlasak that we acted within the framework of our government's statements.

We worked actively. We had in mind both the interests of the republic and the federation. Moreover, we fully understood a large part of the proposals with which the representatives of the Slovak Government arrived in Trencianske Teplice. We did not bind ourselves to anything. We did not sign any protocol. We only agreed in regard to the final communique, on which we agreed markedly. We agreed that we should convey the communique to the media, and that at a news conference, to be held after the meeting, we should speak in accordance with one's own discretion, each on one's own behalf.

Records of the meeting were taken by our hosts. The delegations of the Federal Government and the Government of the Czech Republic did not receive the records, but one must say that they were not requested. Proposals on the work of ten expert groups were briefly formulated as far as possible. This was because no one among those present naturally felt that they were such a knowledgable expert to be able to speak with authority on the complex questions regarding the delimitation of individual authorities.

We parted with the clear prerequisite that only the results of the work by the commissions would become the subject of a political debate and public scrutiny.

Nevertheless, soon afterward the Slovak Government started acquaiting the public not only with the proposals which it proposed during the deliberations, but also with the proceedings of the debate itself. It has presented the whole thing as the final results, despite the fact that those were and still are only proposals, legally not the binding conclusions of consultations. I do not deny that the fact that if those proposals should finally be approved by the Federal Assembly, they would be of a historic importance. Here, more important is the conditional tense—thus: if they should. I do understand why colleague Meciar acted as he did. Shortly before that, representatives of several Slovak parties met and completely rejected the Trencianske Teplice deliberations—they voiced their views on the deliberations without knowing anything about them. They obviously proceeded from a bias speculation, just like some of our journalists. Among the participants in the meeting of representatives from Slovak parties were also representatives of the Christian Democratic Movement, which is a coalition partner of Public Against Violence. I can imagine that colleague Meciar may have been extremely concerned about this action. Thus, he has spoken quite resolutely. His resolute words were addressed above all to the Slovak audience. Some television egoistic viewers in Bohemia believed that they were intended for them and felt hurt.

By this I do not in any way distance myself from the topics discussed in Trencianske Teplice. I shall defend them actively, and will always oppose the claims that those were concessions from the Czech side forced upon it by Slovakia. If the meeting in Lnare is a thing of the past, then we can declare with a clear conscience that the historic initiative was ours, Czech, and we can with a clear conscience claim that we have always asserted the interests of the federation, and that we shall continue to defend them. From a historic perspective, we have to say that the initiative in the last round of our talks—that is, in Trencianske Teplice—was on the Slovak side. This fact has been emphasized by the resolute behavior of Mr. Meciar—and I have already spoken about his presumed reasons.

I do not see anything wrong or anything humiliating in the fact that representatives of the Slovak Government came with specific proposals to the last meeting. I ask those who are bothered by this: what were we to do—reject them if they in principle corresponded to our vision, too; to trump the Slovak proposals for prestige reasons only, and to propose something more radical at any cost? Were we to reject their proposals only, and to propose something more radical at any cost? Were we to reject their proposals only because they were not ours? Any kind of prestige stands could threaten the fate of the federation permanently. We felt and we feel this responsibility. I think that if we previously agreed with our colleagues, so that either could be singled out as showing more initiative than the other, then we could, with justification, be accused of cabinet policy making. We would need your mandate for such an agreement. But in the present situation we have only agreed that the Slovak proposals become the subject of an expert examination, and finally of a democratic decision.

The Czech Government is your executive organ. It wants to be, together with you, an active creator of Czech policy. It wants, together with you, to single out Czech interests and to defend them. But it cannot assume initiatives which exceed the basic political guidelines, as we understand them from your positions.

You approved the program statement of our government which did not set any dates, by which this or that jurisdiction should be transferred from a federal to a republic level. As far as the Czech National Council is concerned, which was in office until the June elections, it only touched upon two Czecho-Slovak problems in the speeches by a few deputies. The deputies voiced their concerns that in the following year there should not be a redivision of the national budgets again. To put it simply, that the Czechs should not once again pay for the Slovaks. Also, it was stated several times that the government should accelerate the creation of independent Czech television and Czech radio. To put it briefly, so far no pressure has been applied in order to ensure that we, the Czechs, Moravians, and Silesians, delineate ourselves more actively, both with regard to the federation and with regard to Slovakia. This is why we acted as we did in Trencianske Teplice.

I will now say rather bluntly why the initiative was on the Slovak side. If the capital of the federation was Bratislava, if that was the seat of the Federal Government and the Federal Assembly met there, I do not doubt for a moment—and I hope that you also do not doubt it—that the initiative for the retructuring of the federation would come from our side. Let us not, therefore, make things more complicated and dramatic. In Slovakia this form of federation, although it came into being on 28 October 1968, but which was fundamentally emasculated in 1970 in the period of up and coming centralism, basically bothers them more than us. This is why I speak about Czech statehood as something which should be, something which is to be built from the foundations, from the bottom, and not about something which we already have. In Slovakia, the situation is different, and we must be able to accept that and not be angry with the Slovaks as a result.

In Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, the need for this statehood as such is missing for the moment. People are asking: What is it for? This lack cannot be done away with and statements of the type—but I am a Czechoslovak—may have good intentions, but Slovak ears hear them differently. Czechoslovakism, the theory that the Czechs and Slovaks are only two branches of the same nation, is truly mistaken if only for the reason that it is unacceptable to one of the partners.

If the Slovak side took more initiative in Trencianske Teplice, this does not in any way mean that the Czech side was passive. Mr. Meciar has already said how complicated and difficult the talks were, and when and how we questioned the way Slovaks saw things. This mainly concerned what should remain at the federal level, in particular as far as so-called system ministries are concerned. I am thinking in particular of transport, telecommunications, and energy systems. We did not leave with the feeling that we had lost in Trancianske Teplice at all. After all, it was not some kind of conflict but a working meeting, which will be continued. We are waiting for the standpoints of the experts commissions, and we have no doubt about the prudence of the deputies of the Federal Assembly.

We did, however, convince our partners about some important things. The protection of state frontiers must be a federal and not a republic affair, as our Slovak colleagues imagined.

The federation cannot depend on subsidies from republics, on charity basically. The federation without its own firm income is no longer a federation.

We also quite clearly support a single, federal ministry, insuring a single state foreign policy. We still have different visions on how our three Constitutions should be created. Despite the fact that we too believe that the republican Constitutions are original, we do not understand this in a literal time concept—that is, that first republican Constitutions would be created. The three Constitutions have to be created at the same time, then, surely, republican constitutions can be declared first in order to confirm their original character; but this is another matter—let us say a symbolic matter.

Together with representatives of the Federal Government, we have convinced representatives of the Slovak Government—it has to be said that they did not fight this idea at all—that the Federal Assembly shown on 17 November approve the constitutional charter of basic human rights, a kind of a core of the future Constitution. Then we shall be able to set up a constitutional court, which will watch over the observation of the Constitution—for example, on whether republics exceed their powers if the Constitution has set them already.

At the time we agreed with the Slovak proposals, they were—and we are convinced that they are—in the Czech interest. Our agreement with the Slovak initiative does not mean, however, that we remain silent toward everything. I have already said that the establishment of the Slovak Ministry for International Relations is a violation of our agreements from Trencianske Teplice—it is presenting the second, and in this case also the third, side with a completed matter. We have agreed that one of the expert commissions would examine the question of powers, concerning the interstate, international, or external relations respectively. I do not know what such a commission would be examining today, if the ministry does exist in Slovakia, although it has declared that it would not interfere in the powers of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

However, I do not want to dramatize this situation either. The functions with which the Slovak Government wants to equip its new ministry are realistic. Foreign Relations on a non-state level—for example, contacts between regions, with expatriots, and so on—are important for the Czech Republic, too. We want to entrust a team of staff from the government office with their coordination. We do not think it necessary to set up a ministry for this matter-of-fact activity. The fact that the Slovak Government has done this is an expression of impatience, aimed at giving an as-visible-as-possible demonstration of the Slovak identity. Let us believe that this is not the first step toward the dismantling of the federation. Mr. Meciar and the Slovak Government have been trying to convince us that they want not only to preserve but even strengthen our common state, to strengthen it by putting it on reliable foundations—that is, based on a free will of both nations.

Here I have to say more about what a federation is in our opinion.

A genuine, viable, and, therefore, not merely formal federation, and no confederation. Although, to be truthful, whenever any of the partners agreed to form either a federation or confederation, they did so in order to meet in the first and second instance the interests of each of the participating sides. It is, however, necessary to add that a two-member confederation would be without precedence in the world. Some people draw the conclusion that this is not fortuitous, and that such a confederation could not exist at all. There is no such confederation in Europe with the sole important exception of the EC.

For some people the term federation is perhaps blurred by the bureaucratic centralism of the past 20 years. Others cannot swallow the idea that the Czech and Czechoslovak state are not the same thing. I believe that sometimes this is akin to a simple lack of information. Allow me, therefore, a brief excursion into constitutional theory in order to clarify what a federation is and what it is not, and as the case may be what is not yet a confederation and what already is.

Above all, it is necessary to say that history has produced a number of different levels and has brought about a number of inconsistencies between federation and confederation. [passage omitted quoting Swiss, Belgium, FRG, United States, Soviet, and Yugoslav federation examples and the UK] This all reminds us of the need to detach ourselves from schematic and simplified views. The difference between a federation and a confederation cannot be determined in accordance with external characteristics. It is necessary to take into account the essential mark, which is the constitutional system.

First, the legal basis of a confederation is, therefore, an international treaty between sovereign states, and not a joint constitution. This treaty defines a limited area of common affairs which concern mostly the functioning of the confederation vis-a-vis the outside world. This is as a rule defense, foreign policy, and diplomatic representation. Here a complete system of joint supreme state bodies with the relevant powers does not emerge. On the contrary, the legal basis of a federation is a federal constitution, according to which a comprehensive system of the supreme state bodies of the federation emerges with strictly defined powers. It is a matter of an agreement between the subjects of the federation, in our case among both republics, which powers it will pass to its bodies, and which powers it will transfer to the federal ones.

In our talks with our Slovak partners, there has been no question but that the legal base for the future coexistence between our nations and national states will be a joint Czechoslovak constitution proceeding from the Constitutions of both republics. I stress this primarily because constitutional theory without exception regards precisely the existence of a federal constitution as one of the decisive marks of a federation, in contrast to a confederation.

Second, the powers of the joint bodies of a confederation are directed at external affairs. On the territory of a member subject it is applied through its bodies—that is, indirectly—provided a member state declares the legal acts of the confederation bodies as a part of its own legal system.

On the contrary, there exists in a federation a constitutionally defined division of powers between the federal authorities and the authorities of member states. The legal organs of the federal authorities assert themselves within the areas of their restricted area of jurisdiction directly. This concerns above all federal legislature.

Federal parliament is an authentic center of real state power, while the joint representative organ of a confederation does not have the character of a parliament.

What applies to the legislative power applies also to the executive body of a confederation—that is, an executive legal power—does not practically exist with the exception of the army command. A federation has at its disposal its own executive legal power, does not practically exist with the exception of the army command. A federation has at its disposal its own executive power, which functions in constitutionally defined areas throughout the territory. We want to have such a federal executive body. It is not decisive which areas of the state administration come within the jurisdiction of the federation and which within the jurisdiction of its subjects. This is a matter of an agreement between member partners who purposefully follow their interests, and provided they are willing to respect the principles of political rationale and political culture, they also have an understanding of the possibilities and interests of their counterparts. In no case is it possible to make a distinction between a federation and a confederation on the basis of the division of authority. I repeat, it is the constitutional system which is the key principle.

Both the Czech and Slovak Governments believe that a federation is an arrangement which is mutually advantageous and that a division of authority between the republics and the federation is a matter of an analysis: a discussion and then an agreement. This is why we have set up ten tripartite commissions of experts. If it is shown that their analysis will be insufficient and the conclusions drawn unsuitable, the road to a remedy will continue to remain open.

A federation is founded on an agreement between those who form it. Agreements proceed from an interest which must be respected. This requires a comprise. A compromise, of course, is not a unilateral retreat or even a capitulation.

Third, this is the case in the economic area as well. Joint bodies of a confederation do not have a jurisdiction in the matters of the strategy of the social and economic development of the community.

On the other hand, member states entrust the federation with the role of the basic integrating body: a strategic economic center which ensures a single unified market opened to the outside and functioning in a single macroeconomic framework. In a federation, therefore, a free movement of production factors, labor forces, and goods and services, and uniform conditions for the functioning of the economy exists—and this above all when it emerges that the existence of branch economic ministries at the level of member states and on the level of the union is not compatible with requirements of the market economy. We will face this in the nearest future.

A confederation relies on the contributions of member states—a federation, on the other hand, has at its disposal its own constitutionally guaranteed sources of income. Our previous agreements have proceeded.

The fourth point: There is no state citizenship in a confederation, but only citizenship of member states. In a federation, on the other hand, there is dual citizenship: the citizenship of the member state as the primary one, and as a secondary citizenship in the federation. Abroad, then, the inhabitants act as citizens of the federation. In a federation, furthermore, a unified regime of civic righs and freedoms applies—thus, there are the same rights and the same duties for all members on the whole territory of the federation. We want to have exactly such a concept confirmed in our constitutional system. We attach exceptional importance to this problem, as it is clear from our proposal to declare ceremoniously on 17 November 1990 a constitutional charter of civic rights and freedoms.

And finally, the fifth point: the existence of a federal judicial system is a characteristic feature of a federation. This is linked not only with the constitutionally outlined division of powers, but also with the unified regime of civic rights, freedoms, and duties. It has been stressed many times that we consider the constitutional judicial system to be an inseparable part of the federal constitutional system. In a confederation, on the other hand, such a concept is unnecessary.

But enough of constitutional theory—although I, myself, consider this basis to be very important, a basis on which can build the positive program of a practical policy. The Czech Government sees this program at present in an improvement of the economy and in the resurrection of self-administration. These are more difficult matters than preaching identity—be it Czechoslovak, Slovak, or Moravian.

We have gotten used to the politically still internal waters of the past decades too much, and thus some of us are somewhat thrown by the dynamics—sometimes even conflicting—that are suddenly obvious. We are, so to speak, in motion—thank God! The Slovak scene is in motion, too. This is normal, too. Both governments do know this, and are engaged in a calm and friendly dialogue about it.

I think that the concern which the meeting in Trencianske Teplice has evoked does not proceed from this meeting alone. It is an expression of more general uncertainties, caused by the present changes of our social organism. It reflects our groping in the dark, searching, encountering the obstacles, and it also reflects misunderstandings, and naturally also our lack of knowledge. We all are only learning. I would like to assure you that all this is only normal.

Recently, our expatriate—now in Canada—minister, Mr. Jelinek, assured me that Canada has been solving [this problem]—but not too successfully. Nevertheless, Canada is still Canada. Politics is a patient sawing of hard wood, wrote a classic political theoretician. In politics everything goes slowly, and no one is ever completely satisfied—but if this is a democratic policy, no one ever loses all his change.

Thank you. [applause]

Christian Democrats Condemn Nationalist Outbursts

AU2908145290 Prague PRACE in Czech 25 Aug 90 p 2

[CTK report: "The Christian Democratic Movement Dissociates Itself"]

[Text] Bratislava—The Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] Council Presidium submitted the following statement to CTK: The KDH is one of the members of the preparatory committee for the Slovak commemoration of Andrej Hlinka, which took place on 25 and 26 August 1990. The KDH had a substantial part in the preparations of the entire action. All activities within the framework of the festivities were prepared responsibly and skillfully. Recently, however, some political groups have appeared with a definite extremist national orientation and they intend to stir up unrest. We dissociate ourselves from all irresponsible adventurous statements and deeds, by which these groups attempted to exploit the festivities as means for the declaration of their political aims. The irresponsible and incompetent activities might threaten the present developments. We condemn such standpoints and consider these endeavors to be a dishonor to Hlinka's memory. The KDH, in the spirit of its policy with the actual work of its ministers in the Government of the Slovak Republic, is building a sovereign Slovakia. The steps taken by the KDH fully identify with the outcome of the meeting of the national and the federal governments in Trencianske Teplice.

HSD Submits Proposal to National Council

AU2908111690 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 23 Aug 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Moravia: Strike Alert"]

[Text] Yesterday, at the opening of the debate in the Czechoslovak National Council Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committee on the bill on the Capital of Prague, Deputy Jan Kadlec (Movement for Autonomous Democracy/Society for Moravia and Silesia) [HSD] took the floor. He moved that the debate on the aforementioned bill be postponed. He stated that the HSD had submitted to Dagmar Buresova, chairman of the Czechoslovak National Council, a proposal for a new land arrangement, according to which Prague would also have the status of a union land. Today, the HSD proposal should be discussed by the Czechoslovak National Council Presidium. Jan Kadlec warned against the growing expressions of nationalism in Moravia. He said that six districts in southern Moravia had announced a strike alert, and the newly established Moravian National Party Committee had met with the Slovak National Party. The HSD is trying, according to Jan Kadlec, to muffle the nationalist passions in Moravia by introducing the land arrangement given still before the local elections. To the doubts expressed by the deputies present as to whether the proposal of the land arrangement does not exceed the authority of the Czechoslovak National Council, Jan Kadlec responded that the bill submitted by his movement does not violate the Constitution. It seems that the HSD uses the threat of nationalist unrest for the realization of its political interests. The question remains, however, how serious are the claims about blunting the edge of the Moravian nationalism.

CPSL Losing Members; Reportedly Isolated

AU3108135190

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 27 and 28 August publishes material on the sixth session of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee, held in Bratislava on 25 August. The session discussed party organizations' preparations for their annual members' meetings, district conferences, the CPSL Congress, and the communal elections. Some "current issues of the political and social situation" were also considered.

On 27 August, on pages one and two, Bratislava PRAVDA carries a 1,200-word report by Peter Misur on the session, entitled "Unity With Limited Liability." Reporting on the opening speech, which was delivered by Peter Weiss, chairman of the Executive Committee of the CPSL Central Committee, Misur says: "After a brief recapitulation of developments in the party since the extraordinary CPSL Congress, Peter Weiss rejected existing illusions about the party's present situation. According to available statistics, the CPSL had 194,000 members in July and the decline in membership has not yet been halted. Young and middle-aged people, in particular, are leaving the party. There are even districts where old-age pensioners represent the largest age group. In Bratislava they account for up to 52 percent of the membership base. There are reasons for this. Apart from feelings of existential threat and physical pressure, resulting from the rising wave of anticommunism, it is primarily the fact that the party does not meet the expectations of young people. The pace of its transformation is insufficient. In this connection Peter Weiss said that one should ponder 'how some of our members in street organizations, by their conduct, literally drive away people who have remained in the party in the hope that it would change.' As for the upcoming party conferences, he added that 'it would be only seemingly democratic if the composition of delegates elected by district conferences to the congress passively reflected the present age structure of our party. For the party, this would be a catastrophe.'"

Speaking about the upcoming party conferences, Weiss reportedly also said that they should "seek a way out of our social and political isolation." This could be accomplished by also inviting to the conferences "sympathizers and representatives of other left-wing parties." In conclusion, Weiss expresses his "firm hope that the congress will not mean a slowdown in the pace of changes [in the party] but the creation of new opportunities for their acceleration."

According to Misur, the subsequent debate focused on the situation in the party. Party Secretary Jan Siroky, for example, "voiced dissatisfaction with the state of changes in the party, and called on the party to part ways with people who slow down this process." Milan Ftacnik advocated a split in the party and the formation of two separate parties. Many speakers also expressed that they were in favor of a change in the party's name.

On 27 August, on page two, Bratislava PRAVDA publishes the 1,000-word article entitled "Resolution of the Sixth Session of the CPSL Central Committee." Apart from passages devoted to the upcoming party conferences and the need to accelerate the party's transformation into a "modern left-wing party," the resolution also spells out the CPSL's position on a number of "current issues."

On the issue of the federation and Czech-Slovak coexistence, the resolution states that the CPSL "regards the union of the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic in a free and equal federation as being in full harmony with the interests of the Czech and Slovak nations." It also declares that Slovak Communists want to "actively assist" in "reinforcing the identity of Slovakia in an authentic federation."

On the issue of the planned language law, the resolution states that it should "codify Slovak as the basic medium of communication throughout the territory of the Slovak Republic." At the same time, there should be a legally enshrined right of the ethnic minorities to use their mother tongue in dealings with the authorities, education, and culture in the ethnically mixed areas of Slovakia.

Furthermore, the resolution expresses the party's support for the declaration of 29 August, the anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising, as Slovakia's national day and expresses "concern at the new wave of cadre purges, to which government officials assume a stand which is ambiguous and full of contradictions." The CPSL reportedly "advocates cadre changes where the ranking personnel lack professional expertise or committed various aberrations or machinations." It is opposed, however, to the "politically motivated elimination of professionally competent people" only because they are Communist Party members or former Communist Party members.

The resolution also states that the session "co-opted Svatopluk Zeman, director of the Institute of Social and Political Theories, as a member of the CPSL Central Committee."

On 28 August, on page three, Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak publishes 1,000-word excerpts from Peter Weiss' closing speech at the sixth session of the CPSL Central Committee. In the speech, Weiss discusses the importance of the upcoming CPSL Congress (to be held in October) which, as he says, "should at least guarantee the irreversibility of the process of fundamental changes in our party." Weiss warns that, unless the party fundamentally changes, it will survive as "something which is neither alive nor dead and has very severe bedsores." In this context Weiss poses a number of questions to his audience: "Can we implement a realistic policy with a structure of members like the one we have, for instance, in Bratislava? Shall we continue tolerating the fact that, because we did not opt for purges, there are still people in our party who were not normalizers [reference to those who implemented the post-1968 policy of "normalization"] out of coercion but, so to speak, out of passion? Shall we tolerate in it those who were destroying people's lives and who, even after 1985 [Gorbachev's rise to power], prevented any attempts at changes and who are now distributing advice and covering themselves up with phrases about the workers class and Marxism-Leninism? Shall we ally ourselves with them? Do we not feel any need to separate ourselves from them? Should we tolerate, within the framework of freedom, even those who write me letters that I should end up like Slansky [former general secretary of the Communist Party executed in 1952] and that this would be the best end for me? Do we not want to part ways with these people; ideologically, politically, but also organizationally? Are we indifferent to the fact that we are in the same party with those who demand, after everything we know today, that party membership be returned to Vasil Bilak? Are we supposed to ally ourselves with them in the name of phony party unity? Are we supposed to hold gentlemanly discussions with them on division into two parties? Or should we wage a resolute political struggle against them? These are the questions confronting us as we prepare ourselves for the party conferences."

In conclusion, Weiss reiterates his warning that any compromise and failure to part ways with the exponents of Stalinism in the CPSL will prevent the party from reinforcing its political influence and gaining society's trust.

Miners End Hunger Strike After Ministers' Visit

AU2908103490 Prague PRACE in Czech 25 Aug 90 p 1

[CTK report: "The Hunger Strike Is Over"]

[Text] Prague—Petr Miller, federal minister of labor and social affairs, and Vladimir Dlouhy, CSFR minister, held a meeting with Oldrich Kolbasnjuk and Ladislav Strakos, two miners from the Ostrava-Karvina mining area who have been on hunger strike in Prague's Klarov District since Thursday [23 August] evening. Both ministers outlined to the miners the progress being made in the legislative amendment allowing miners to retire at 50. The miners agreed to end the hunger strike with the proviso that both ministers visit the Ostrava District in the very near future, and that they remain in permanent contact with them. Both republican health ministries will submit their points of view on the miners' demand to retire at 50 to the miners' commission by 17 September.

Cost of Living Rises Due to Price Increases

AU2908103790 Prague PRACE in Czech 25 Aug 90 p 1

["(ZR)"-signed report: "It Is Increasing? It Is Increasing!"]

[Text] Prague—Two important changes in July extended right into our cost of living—increases in the prices of food and gasoline. Staff at the Czech Statistical Office have worked out a cost of living index for July according to how the consumer basket of goods and services bought by the population in recent months has increased. The impact of the changes in retail food prices on various social groups is different. If the index for the second quarter of 1990 equals 100, then up until 9 July it had increased for cooperative farmers to 107.6; for pensioners to 111.9; and for manual workers and employees with one child to 108.5, with two children to 109.3, and with three children to 110.3.

As we can see, food price increases have affected agricultural families least of all and pensioners most of all. The difference between the increased costs and the compensatory allowance of 140 korunas, which is to their disadvantage, should be balanced out when the valorization of pensions is prepared.

The population felt the price increases in gasoline and motor oils less than the food price increases. The impact is considerably different in individual families; understandably, there is a zero impact in some cases. Pensioners were affected least of all in this instance. In comparison with the second quarter of 1990, the increased gasoline and motor oil prices led to an increase in the cost of living for manual workers and employees by 2.1 percent, for cooperative farmers by 2.8 percent, and for pensioners by 0.6 percent.

Apart from the two important single price increases in July, during the first six months of this year, retail prices increased by up to 2.6 percent. The consequences of the so-called hidden price increases—when manufacturers come onto the market with new and, thus, more expensive, but qualitatively and in essence, the same, products—are contained in this figure.

CSL Protests Ruling in Bartoncik Affair

AU2908110890

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech on 24 August on page 3 carries a 150-word "Statement by the Leadership of the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL]" on the decision of the Czech General Prosecutor's Office to drop criminal charges against Jan Ruml, deputy minister of interior. The charges were filed by the CSL because of Jan Ruml's accusation that Josef Bartoncik, the CSL chairman, had been a secret police collaborator. In its statement the CSL leadership protests against the termination of criminal proceedings against Jan Ruml, saying that it is "at gross variance with the actual state of the evidence." All evidence obtained reportedly proves that Jan Ruml's statements about Josef Bartoncik "were untrue."

On 25 August, on page 1, LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE carries a 200-word CTK report entitled "CSL Leadership Files a Complaint." The report notes that on 24 August the CSL filed a complaint against the Czech General Prosecutor's Office because of its ruling in the Ruml- Bartoncik legal dispute. The complaint qualifies the ruling as "unlawful" because it is "at direct variance with the legal state of the matter and with the facts contained in the assembled evidence."

European Movement Begins Work in Prague

LD3008132790 Prague CTK in English 1046 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Prague Aug 30 (CTK)—The first working meeting of the preparatory committee of the European Movement in Czechoslovakia started here today, organized by the International European Movement, the Association for European Home and the Young European Federalists in Czechoslovakia.

The European Movement is an independent non-governmental organization established in 1947. Its main target is to create a united structure responsible for such affairs that cannot be effectively solved by individual states. This would mean a European government that would be supervised by the European parliament which would fully participate in the creation of European laws.

Press Views Slovak Separatists' Rally

AU2908160690

[Editorial Report] Czech and Slovak newspapers on 27 and 28 August report and comment extensively on the calls for an independent Slovak Republic made at a rally held at Ruzomberok on 26 August to commemorate Andrej Hlinka, Slovak priest and nationalist politician who died in 1938.

The newspaper accounts of the meeting stress that the event "got completely out of the organizers' hands," (Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 27 August) and that what was to be a festive and bipartisan commemoration of a major Slovak political leader "was misused and grossly manipulated by separatist and chauvinistic movements associated around the Slovak National Party" (Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 27 August). The newspapers also express shame at the "adoration of the [pro-Hitler] Slovak State" and at manifestations of "intolerance," "lack of culture," and "aggressive and primitive nationalism" displayed at the rally.

Writing in the 27 August issue of Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak, Peter Duhan says: "I am afraid that the national commemoration of Andrej Hlinka turned into an unreasonable and unrealistic symbol of our return—not our return to Europe—but into the maybe romantic but bygone 19th century." Writing in the same issue of VEREJNOST, commentator Lubomir Micko says that a "shiver ran down the spine of every judicious person" who witnessed the "terrible weekend" in Ruzomberok, whose "atmosphere was strongly reminiscent of the year 1939." In this context, Micko deplores the Slovak Government's absence at the rally and accuses the government of "burying its head in the sand." He believes that the government's participation in the commemorative event "could have oriented the national sentiments in a different way."

Several commentators react to the speech made at the rally by Vitazoslav Moric, chairman of the Slovak National Party—particularly to his call on the Slovak parliament to declare the independence and sovereignty of Slovakia and to raise Slovak laws above the federal laws and to his statement that the 72-year old marriage of Czechs and Slovaks has been a failure and should be divorced.

In an 800-word commentary in Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak, entitled "Quo Vadis Federation?," Lubomira Cizova asks whether Moric's policy is not in violation of his oath as parliamentary deputy "which contains a clearly formulated clause on [loyalty to] the federation." Cizova also believes that, irrespective of the costs, there should be a referendum on the future of the federation because the current "tussles paralyze the activity of ministries, governments, and legislative bodies" and because events such as those in

Ruzomberok "discredit our country in the eyes of possible foreign partners." A referendum on the issue of "coexistence in a common state" is endorsed also by RUDE PRAVO.

Commentator Peter Malar (Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 28 August, page 2) observes that Moric's speech at Ruzomberok "marked another clear shift of this party to the right" and a "tilt toward the policy of Tiso's Slovak State." He believes that this shift "will discourage thousands of the party's present supporters." In the same commentary, Malar criticizes official representatives who attended the rally, saying that they should have left it out of protest against the extremists' excesses. According to Malar, by their "humble passive resistance," these representatives (who included Jan Carnogursky and Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko) gave the rally a "legitimate framework."

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak and Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech on 28 August both associate Vitazoslav Moric with fascist ideas. In a 300-word commentary on the Ruzomberok events in Bratislava, PRAVDA on 28 August, page 1, Peter Ondera says that Moric's speech "smacked of demagogy in the style of Goebbels" and refers to him as "vodca," the Slovak translation of the German "fuehrer." In a 500-word SVOBODNE SLOVO commentary, Jaromir Dufek observes that, when criticizing the 72-year marriage of the Czechs and Slovaks, Moric "forgot to subtract the six years during which the Slovak State was involved in a love affair with Hitler's Germany. This adventure seems to be unforgettable for the supporters of Mr. Moric. Jozef Tiso [president of the Slovak State] is considered one of the greatest figures of the Slovak nation by them."

Several newspapers also deal with the "ambiguous attitude" of Jan Carnogursky's Christian Democratic Movement, which co-organized the Hlinka rally and participated in the formulation of the "memorandum" issued at Ruzomberok but whose political committee subsequently dissociated itself from the memorandum. Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 28 August, page 1, carries a 700-word Ondrej Neff commentary on the Ruzomberok rally entitled "It Is Necessary To Show One's Hands." Neff appeals to the Christian Democratic Movement "to finally show its hands" and declare "whether it sides with the nationalists or opposes them." The movement's current "egg dance only creates distrust," according to Neff.

Many commentaries also stress that the views of the Slovak separatists are not representative of the Slovak nation as a whole. Writing in Prague PRACE in Czech on 28 August, page 3, commentator Petr Hirsch estimates, for example, that "70 to 80 percent of Slovaks do not wish the state to be divided." Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak on 28 August, pages 1 and 6, cites a survey conducted among the participants in the Hlinka rally, which showed that 43 percent of them endorsed the idea of Czech-Slovak coexistence and only 29 percent advocated Slovakia's "immediate secession."

Czech and Slovak newspapers of 28 August also report on statements issued by various Czechoslovak political parties and movements (Civic Forum, VPN [Public Against Violence movement], Czechoslovak Democratic Forum, Czechoslovak Socialist Party, Democratic Party) on the Ruzomberok events. All these statements condemn the separatist slogans made there.

Report on Slovak Government 24 Aug Session

AU2908105290 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 25 Aug 90 pp 1, 2

[Martin Uradnicek, Jan Repka report: "District Under a Microscope; Slovak Republic Government at its First External Session"]

[Excerpts] "It is better to see once than to hear a hundred times," Martin Futak, chairman of the District National Committee in Ziar nad Hronom, said in his welcoming speech to members of the Slovak Republic Government. This sentence became the central motto of yesterday's external session of the Slovak Republic Government, the first of its kind in the government's two months of existence. The choice of the Ziar district was the result of a collective agreement between the ministers and deputy premiers. There is hardly any other region in Slovakia where so many problems have accumulated. In the morning, the government members formed 12 groups which, during the day, worked independently of each other around the entire district. Premier Vladimir Meciar, accompanied by a large team of experts, visited the Slovak National Uprising Works [the monopoly producer of aluminum in Czechoslovakia] where he met the management and workers. In a frank debate, he commented on fundamental economic and political questions. "It is paradoxical that decisions on metallurgy are made by the federal government but that the ecological problems of these enterprises must be dealt with by the republican government," the premier said. Michal Kovac, minister of finance, prices, and wages, announced at the meeting that the government will extend to the Slovak National Uprising Works a short-term credit of 150 million korunas to help bridge its adverse financial situation caused by the modernization of the factory. [passage omitted]

A working group headed by Michal Dzatko, minister of agriculture and food, held talks with representatives of cooperatives and state farms which recently called on all farmers to declare a strike alert. The minister familiarized them with the Slovak variant of the economic reform. It foresees continued subsidies for agricultural enterprises amounting to between 12 and 14 billion korunas a year. This sum, however, will be reduced by 10 percent every year. [passage omitted]

Jozef Kucerak, deputy premier of the Slovak Republic, and Jozef Belcak, minister of the economy, met the directors of some metallurgical, chemical, and mining enterprises yesterday afternoon to jointly discuss the process of privatization in Slovak industry and the industry's future orientation. In this context J. Belcak stressed the good prospects for the automobile industry in Slovakia. The Slovak Republic Government will reach its final decision on our foreign partner by 15 September. It will be either Volkswagen or General Motors. [passage omitted]

Slovak Government Ministers Appointed

LD2908203290 Prague CTK in English 1743 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Bratislava Aug 29 (CTK)—A law on the organization of ministries and other bodies of state administration of the Slovak Republic, one of Czechoslovakia's two constituent parts, was decared here today following a session of the Slovak National Council yesterday.

The following members of the cabinet were appointed:

Rudolf Filkus—Ministry for Economic Strategy,
Jozef Belcak—Ministry of Industry,
Michal Kovac—Ministry of Finance,
Augustin Marian Huska—Ministry for Administration and Privatisation of National Property,
Viliam Oberhauser—Ministry of Forestry and Water Economy,
Ladislav Kovac—Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport,
Milan Knazko—Ministry of International Relations,
Martin Hvozdik—Ministry of Control.
Vladimir Meciar remains prime minister.
Vojtech Bach was appointed general prosecutor of the Slovak Republic.

November 1 was declared a day of reconciliation (in memory of the victims of political violence) and will be a public holiday in Slovakia.

Four new ministries have been estabished in Slovakia:

The Ministry for Economic Strategy (Minister Rudolf Filkus was minister-chairman of the Slovak Commission for Planning and scientific-Technological Development, which was abolished),

The Ministry for Administration and Privatization (Minister Augustin Marian Huska was minister-chairman for privatization and administration of national property),

The Ministry of International Relations (Minister Milan Knazko was minister without portfolio)

And the Ministry of Control (the former Committee of People's Control, Minister Martin Hvozdik was minister-chairman of the committee)

The names of the following three ministries have been changed: the Ministry of Finance (earlier the Ministry of Finance, Prices and Wages, Minister Michal Kovac remains in the post),

The Ministry of Forestry and Water Economy (earlier the Ministry of Forestry and Water Economy and the Wood-processing Industry, Minister Viliam Oberhauser remains in the post)

And the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport (earlier the Ministry of Education, Science, Youth and Sport, Minister Ladislav Kovac remains in the post).

The following nine ministries remain: the Ministry of Culture (Ladislav Snopko), the Ministry of Trade and Tourism (Jozef Chren), the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (Stanislav Novak), the Ministry of Industry (Jan Holcik) [as received], the Ministry of Justice (Ladislav Kosta), the Ministry of the Interior (Anton Andras), the Ministry of Construction (Jozef Dubnicek), the Ministry of Health (Alojz Rakus) and the Ministry of Agriculture and Food (Michal Dzatko).

Individual Ministerial Responsibilities Outlined

AU2908173390 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 28 Aug 90 pp 1,2

[CTK report: "Gabcikovo Is the Key Issue"]

[Text] Bratislava—The Slovak Republic Government Presidium held a session on 27 August 1990. A report on the situation in the construction of the Gabcikovo water project stated that it is necessary to quickly evaluate the ecological risks arising from bringing the Gabcikovo water project into operation and to establish a policy for seeking international assistance in resolving ecological issues. The Presidium agreed with the establishment of an expert trouble-shooting and consultative group called "Underground Water" and recommended that the CSFR Government adopt its proposed regulations, including the one dealing with the legal and organizational involvement of the CSFR and Slovak Government plenipotentiary in the CSFR Government Presidium Office. At the same time, it assigned Minister Milan Knazko the task of discussing with the CSFR foreign minister a method for accelerating negotiations with the Hungarian side by diplomatic means, and it proposed to the federal government that Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar should become its coordinator in the talks with the Hungarian Government.

The Presidium discussed the division of responsibility between the Slovak premier and deputy premiers. It agreed with a proposal for the establishment of a joint Slovak National Council [SNR] and Slovak Government commission to prepare the Slovak Republic constitution, with the proviso that its draft be submitted to the SNR Presidium for approval. It relieved Vincent Kovacic from his post as senior secretary to the Slovak premier. Vladimir Meciar thanked him for the work he carried out.

In the interest of rationalizing the work of the Slovak Government Office, the Presidium approved a principle for cutting the number of staff in this apparatus from the current number of 150 to 70 employees in accordance with the principles contained in the Labor Code. It assigned the head of the Slovak Government Office the task of preparing before 30 September 1990 a proposal for abolishing the institute overseeing the Slovak Republic Government.

The NARODNA OBRODA editorial office inquired at the Slovak Government Office Press and Information Department about the specific responsibilities of the Slovak premier and deputy premiers. Jan Comaj, the department's director, told us the following:

Premier Vladimir Meciar oversees the work of the government and its Presidium. He takes an interest in the planning and programming of their work, in the quality preparation of discussions, and is in close cooperation with the CSFR president, the federal government, and the Czech Government. He is chairman of the Slovak Republic's Defense Council and fulfills a supervisory and coordinating function in relation to the Slovak Interior Ministry, the Ministry of International Relations, and the Slovak Government Office. He coordinates relations with the Slovak National Council, the political parties and civic movements, and the Slovak Prosecutor General and Supreme Court.

First Deputy Premier Jan Carnogursky represents the premier during his absence. He is the coordinator in dealing with fundamental issues in relations between the church and state, and is chairman of the Slovak Government Council for Information Policy and the Mass Media and chairman of the Slovak Government Council for Ethnic Minorities. He fulfills a supervisory and coordinating function in relation to the Culture, Health Care, Education, Youth, and Physical Training, and Labor and Social Affairs Ministries, CTK, Slovak Radio, and Slovak Television.

Deputy Premier Jozef Kucerak represents the premier in matters entrusted to him and is responsible for the preparation and implementation of economic reform in Slovakia. He is chairman of the Slovak Government Economic Council, the Government Council for Science and Research, and the Working Group for Coordinating the Expo 95 Preparations. He fulfills a supervisory and coordinating function in relation to the Economic Strategy, Privatization and the Administration of National Property, and Finance Ministries, the Czechoslovak State Bank, and the main Slovak institutes—the Slovak Geological Office, the Slovak Office for Geodesy and Cartography, the Slovak Statistical Office, and the Slovak Anti-Monopoly Office. He coordinates the arrangement of tasks associated with economic and scientific-technical cooperation with foreign countries and the work of the other ministries and central organs in issues connected with economic reform.

Deputy Premier Vladimir Ondrus represents the premier in matters entrusted to him. He is chairman of the Slovak Government Council for Managing the Economy and the government's Workers' Council; he is commander of the republic's civil defense, and is responsible for preparing Slovak participation in the General Czechoslovak Exhibition 1991. He fulfills a supervisory and coordinating function in relation to the Economy, Industry, Forestry and Water Management, Trade and Tourism, Agriculture and Food, and Construction and Building Ministries as well as to the Slovak Safety at Work Office, the Slovak Mining Office, and all the ministries and central organs involved in economic issues. He coordinates relations with the unions, production cooperatives, consumer groups, housing associations, and specialist organs.

Deputy Premier Gabor Zaszlos represents the premier in matters entrusted to him. He is chairman of the Slovak Government Legislative Council and coordinates the activity of the Government Committee for Women and the Family. He fulfills a supervisory and coordinating function in relation to the Slovak Justice Ministry and judicial organs, the People's Control Committee, and the Slovak Commission for the Environment. He coordinates relations with special interest and social organizations whose activity is not associated with the individual ministries.

Slovak Hungarians Reject Accusations of Irredentism

AU3008114990 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 27 Aug 90 p 2

[CTK report: "They Deny the Accusation"]

[Text] Bratislava—On Saturday [25 August] in Bratislava the leadership of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Czechoslovakia (Csemadok) Central Committee discussed recent internal political events. The session assumed a standpoint, which states, among other things: We condemn the constantly proliferating challenges and slanderous graffiti disseminating racial, religious, and national hatred. One of the rsults of this are accusations of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia—of irredentism and anti-Slovakism, among other things—and Csemadok of collective guilt in anti-state activities. We reject the accusations, half-truths, and lies published in Slovak magazines, which refer to unqualified people and the negative and aggressive stand of the Hungarians in southern Slovakia toward the Slovak language.

Slovak Minister on 'Small Privatization' Program

AU3008085690 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 25 Aug 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Augustin M. Huska, Slovak minister for the administration and privatization of national property, by Rudolf Gallo; place and date not given: "There Will Be No Laundering of Money!"]

[Text] [Gallo] Let us start with reprivatization. Originally, before the elections, this issue did not figure in the programs of political parties. Even in the government program of the Slovak Government there is no mention of it. Nonetheless, reprivatization is now on the agenda. What are the reasons for carrying it out, and what will be its substance?

[Huska] The fact that, originally, reprivatization was not included in the election programs was not motivated by fear or by the endeavor to dodge a hot issue. Reprivatization did not figure in them simply because, on the basis of the roundtable agreements and the president's pronouncements, the first freely elected government has a brief and temporary mandate of two years. In such a brief period it is impossible to remedy the situation in all areas, to make amends for wrongdoings, and to renew local initiative and the spirit of enterprise. In drawing up the government's privatization program it became apparent, however, that we would immensely complicate the conditions for privatized firms if, after two years of their operation, we took them to court to reclaim parts of them which had been confiscated, nationalized, or simply illegally stolen. We know that the Constitution and the laws of 1948 permitted the ownership of private firms with up to 50 employees. The steps taken in liquidating the private sector went cynically beyond this limit, however, up to the level of individual tradesmen. This means that if we want to clear the way for a smooth and troublefree process of privatization, we must first carry out a fast, one-time process of reprivatization. This process will involve the return of property to their original owners or their heirs in direct succession, i.e. sons and daughters. We foresee that heirs who are not direct descendants will be given at least the right of preemption. The right of restoration of property to heirs in direct succession is not our invention but a European legal tradition.

[Gallo] Will there be no problems? For example, many buildings are occupied by organizations and institutions. Many small factories, workshops, etc. have also been torn down and new buildings now stand in their place. How can the actual state of the property and its actual value be ascertained? Also, will the property be returned in the form of "restitutio in natura" or by way of financial compensation?

[Huska] The restitution of property rights to the original owners will obviously run up against many problems. The principle of reprivatization is, in fact, the physical restoration of the right to expropriated property. State and society will therefore undertake to restore this right, but only in the present condition in which the property finds itself in the care of state administration. Society cannot take upon itself the responsibility of compensating for forfeited profits, etc. As a matter of fact, forfeited gains are impossible to prove because, in any enterprise, the risk of loss is just as great as the chance of profit. In cases of physical liquidation of property, we will proceed from qualified estimates of possible residual value, and the owner will be awarded a debenture bond in the appropriate amount or the right to draw this sum from the Slovak National Property Fund. There are also cases when the original property was substantially expanded and upgraded by means of new investment activity. In that case, the original owner will either be offered the appropriate volume of shares, on the basis of a qualified estimate of the original value, or compensation by the organization which now owns the property.

[Gallo] A few days ago the Economic Council of the CSFR Government decided to speed up the process of privatization in retailing and services. This is part of the so-called small privatization. What were the reasons for this decision? Is one of the reasons not the fact that some people have started to "deal in" the leases of, in particular, restaurants, and that some managers who have until now been producing nothing but losses are all of a sudden confident that they will be making a profit? Moreover, they are playing the leases into each other's hands as well as into the hands of their friends and relatives. Put simply, they have started wheeling and dealing in things which do not belong to them....

[Huska] A responsible government—and this government wants to act responsibly—must, of course, sensitively and quickly respond to people's reactions and grievances. I cannot deny that we are getting a large amount of often very specific information about literally brazen attempts by one-time guardians of ideological purity to transform themselves into dyed-in-the-wool capitalists. Self-evidently, the methods by which they would like to operate as private entrepreneurs belong to the arsenal of the old times, and resemble the Mafia's attempts at the so-called laundering of ill-gotten gains. It can be said that some leases of property have already been misused in this fashion. Yet this is not the only reason for accelerated privatization. We must simply open the way for individual initiative in areas which are not capital-intensive. At the same time, these are areas which the public has permanently before its eyes. Special measures will therefore be adopted which will permit the fast privatization of retailing and services in all cases in which the value of fixtures and equipment does not exceed 1 million korunas. This value is not some kind of an ideologically motivated limit on privatization, it is simply the limit of the first privatization step. An opportunity in this accelerated process will be given to all those applicants who demonstrate their expertise, who avail themselves of the needed cash or a promise of credit from the bank, and whose civic reputation and integrity is beyond dispute. Preference will be given to those already working in these establishments, with the exception of cases when the public distrusts the present operators. In that case, and this will also be the case with later privatization steps, the path of a public auction or tender will follow, in which the conditions for applicants and their selection, as well as the terms of the auction, will be set.

[Gallo] Are you not afraid that, if the method of auctions is applied, these establishments—i.e., those whose value does not exceed 1 million korunas—will not be acquired by the most capable and entrepreneurial people? True, the bank is prepared to grant credits to those without great cash holdings, but an auction is an auction, and the price can be driven to astronomical heights.... The less affluent are bound to run out of breath in an auction. It is my fear that in the end these establishments will be seized by the former cadres of the nomenklatura who, by virtue of this status, lined their pockets in the past. Only illegal currency dealers may be able to compete with them. I do not believe that these are the sort of entrepreneurs we would like to have.

[Huska] We do, indeed, receive complaints that auctions give an advantage to those who possess large financial sums already. There exists an answer to this: He who drives the price to a certain height must have figured out that it will pay. At the same time, it must be said that society will not be the loser, because the auction proceeds will flow either into the Slovak National Property Fund, or into the so-called municipal (communal) fund. Apart from that, potential drawbacks [of auctions] are offset by the great advantage of social control, because the auctions will be taking place before the eyes of the public. One could raise the objection that the true prospective buyers might set up "straw men." That is possible. Yet the social environment will quickly ascertain the true state of affairs, and that will be a sufficient reason for auditors to intervene.

[Gallo]) Another serious problem concerns the granting of credits. The bank will not grant them just to anyone. It demands collateral, in other words guarantees, which must usually be one and a half times the loan amount. Where am I supposed to find such a liquid guarantor, and where am I supposed to get real estate worth almost 2 million korunas if I want to borrow a million? Should the banks not change their philosophy of lending?

[Huska] We expect the banks to substantially expand the range of what they offer. The ways in which banks ascertain guarantees and protect themselves against risk could be far more varied than is now the case. The bank must approach the granting of credit as a business and, if it wants to expand business, it must be interested in enlarging the range of its customers. In the period of so-called austerity programs, the banks' resources will, understandably, be somewhat restricted, but on the other hand we intensively support the movement here and the creation of foreign banks, their outlets, and joint banking ventures to expand credit possibilities. A bank avails itself of much more varied ways of ascertaining the creditworthiness of credit applicants and their entrepreneurial potentials than the mere dry bureaucratic adding up of their assets. One must not forget that the greatest capital is gray matter. In evaluating the potentials of a customer, the bank must find a way of verifying this capital. Banks in the world are doing so with success.

[Gallo] Let us add in conclusion that the process of accelerating the privatization of retailing and services will take place by means of a shortcut—the issuance of a special decree of the Federal Ministry of Finance, which will go into effect as early as September 1990.

Romanies Oppose Separate Slovak State

AU2908084290

[Editorial Report] Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech dated 27 August, pages 1 and 2, publishes a 1,200-word interview with Emil Scuka, LLD., federal chairman of the Romany Civic Initiative movement, by Rostislav Rod, MLADA FRONTA correspondent. The place and date of the interview, which is entitled "Starting Point of Democracy," are not given. Stuka responds to an earlier statement by the Prague Prosecutor who claimed that there is a certain Romany solidarity which is reflected in the fact that even "the Romanies who do not steal and rob" are concealing information and hiding criminal activities. Scuka rejects these claims. As an example he gives the city of Plzen, where a joint police-Romany commission deals with the problem of criminality. Moreover, Scuka says, there was a suggestion that Romanies, unable to justify their presence in the capital, should be ordered out. He opposes such a policy. "As a political party we absolutely disagree with this. Furthermore, if needed, we would even turn to international institutions. Not only the Declaration of Human Rights in the Helsinki Final Act, but the Constitution as well, guarantee to everybody the right of free movement and the choice of place of residence." He believes that the participation of Romanies in the police force would help to create the feeling of responsibility among Romanies, and would lead to a reduction in the crime rate.

Responding to a question regarding the absence in the Constitution of any reference to Romanies as an ethnic group, Scuka says that the communists did not consider Romanies to be a nation. They were viewed purely as a social group. To change this, according to Scuka, is a fundamental point in the formation of the future democratic society. Moreover, the Romany "ghettos" should be eliminated and Romanies should be educated.

On the topic of the separation of Slovakia, Scuka says that Romanies, as far as he knows, are against the separation. "We are a part of the joint Czech and Slovak federation. We know well the consequences of the Slovak state. Jozef Tiso's visiting card was, for us, labor camps, annihilation of villages, and thousands of people tortured to death in concentration camps."

Meciar Denies Any Intentions of Dividing CSFR

AU2908103290

[Editorial Report] Prague PRACE in Czech on 25 August, pages 1 and 2, publishes a 1,400-word interview with Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar by PRACE correspondent Renata Havranova, entitled "We Do Not Intend To Break the Federation." The place and date of the interview are not given. Meciar comments in the interview on the outcome of the Trencianske Teplice meeting. According to him, these talks mark "the beginning of a new integration based on the principle of common interests." He says that throughout the meeting absolute agreement or very similar views were displayed by the Czech and Slovak sides. He admits that it was because of the fear of the people's reaction that the talks were not made public earlier. Next, he outlines some of the changes in the jurisdiction of the governments.

In the conclusion of the interview, Meciar asserts that "the destruction of the central mechanism will not result in weakening the relationship (between the republics). We are convinced that a proliferation of alternate institutions concerning these relations will ensue, which will not be based on bureaucracy but on natural interests. We believe that the proximity in culture, language, geopolitical interests, and economic ties guarantee that our nations will want to live together."

Internal Differences Over Economic Reform Settled

AU2908111890 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Aug 90 pp 1, 2

[Vladimir Cechlovsky, Vaclav Marek report: "'Small Privatization' This Year"]

[Excerpt] Prague (from our correspondents)— One can infer from the speech by Petr Pithart, premier of the Czech Republic, at the 23 August meeting of enterprise directors and leading staff of the Czech Republic Ministry of Engineering and Electrotechnical Industry that the disputes about economic reform have been settled, and that a consensus has been reached in the government on the specific course of action to be taken in moving toward a market economy and toward the private ownership of the means of production.

The diverse views on ways of transforming state property into private property have finally led to the decision that small businesses in industry but, above all, in services and retailing will be privatized this year. This privatization, which will concern about 30 percent of state property, will be within the jurisdiction of towns and villages. It is not clear, for the time being, what will happen to the remaining 70 percent of state property. According to the premier there are two scenarios: a fast and a slow privatization.

A decision has apparently also been made in the controversy over free price fixing and internal convertibility. Petr Pithart said that an agreement has been reached in the government on the immediate—though partly regulated—liberalization of prices and on the transition toward internal convertibility. The koruna's starting exchange rate against the dollar has apparently not yet been decided and the government will yet discuss the possible alternatives.

As to the scenario of the privatization of large and medium-sized enterprises, Petr Pithart said that it must not take long. Small businesses and plants should be privatized in the first phase. The small businessmen should get rich enough to be able to purchase additional state enterprises. The shortage of capital among the public has prompted the government to reckon in the end also with the issuance of so-called investment coupons, the expediency of which had long been a subject of discussion. The premier also spoke about the possibility of introducing a special type of credits only for Czechoslovak citizens to be used exclusively for the purchase of securities. According to the premier, the offer of some shares to employees as a form of performance bonus is also being considered. [passage omitted]

Commission Formed on New Administrative Structure

AU2908134390 Prague PRACE in Czech 25 Aug 90 p 1

[CTK report: "Who Will Belong Where?"]

[Text] Prague—Yesterday, the Government of the Czech Republic adopted the motion of its premier to establish a commission on the land establishment [state structure]. It will consist of representatives of the political parties and movements, as well as of experts. The task of the commission is to prepare documentation for a public assessment of all variants of the land establishment. Czech Premier Petr Pithart was appointed by the government to head the commission.

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175,000 Private Entrepreneurs in Czech Republic

AU2908095890 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 25 Aug 90 p 9

[Unattributed report on the number of private entrepreneurs registered in the Czech Republic]

[Text] The number of private entrepreneurs registered in the Czech Republic from 1 May to 30 July 1990 are shown in the table below:

Region	No. of Requests	No. of Registered Individuals
Prague	33,748	21,268
Central Bohemia	5,805	5,558
South Bohemia	4,347	3,758
West Bohemia	6,180	5,008
North Bohemia	7,681	6,325
East Bohemia	9,845	8,051
North Moravia	4,904	4,412
South Moravia	14,357	13,130
Czech Republic	86,867	67,510

The overall number of entrepreneurs registered in the Czech Republic (this means in accordance with government regulation 1/88) amounts to 175,000.

The difference between the number of requests submitted and the number of registered individuals is due to the fact that applicants did not submit the correct documents in accordance with Paragraphs 7 and 8 of the law on private enterprise. In such cases, the private enterprise sections of the District National Committees appeal to applicants to complete the documents within the designated time limit. If this is not done, the requests are rejected.

We acquired this table from the private enterprise section attached to the Civil Administration Department of the Czech Republic Interior Ministry. It shows the number of entrepreneurs who registered in the Czech Republic from 1 May to 30 July in accordance with the law on private enterprise. Other data, which we acquired from Dr. Marian Simek, the department's director, reveals some regional differences. Intermediary and consultative services as well as enterprise in computer technology predominate in Prague in particular. Construction work and craftsmanship are predominate in Central Bohemia. Private accommodation and catering services predominate in South Bohemia. Craftsmanship and planning and design predominate in West Bohemia. There is a considerable amount of construction work in North Bohemia, East Bohemia, and North Moravia. Craftsmanship, planning and design, and construction work predominate in South Moravia.

Crime Rate in Bohemia Continues To Grow

AU2908103890 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 24 Aug 90 p 8

["(jef)"-signed report: "Police Lacks Manpower"]

[Text] A police staff conference took place yesterday in the National Security Corps University building with Czech Republic Interior Minister Tomas Hradilek in attendance. The minister first assessed the security in the country. In comparison with the same period last year, 40 percent more criminal offenses were committed this year. An absolute majority of the offenses were general crimes and 80 percent are property crimes—i.e., theft and burglary (growth of 104 and 201 percent, respectively). The number of robberies grew by 250 percent. The brutality of the offenders also increased, and the number of murders and crimes of violence is on the rise. Unfortunately the rate of solving the crimes is in reverse proportion to the growth in the crime rate.

The way out may be found in the reorganization of the police, which, as it was phrased "...will not be here to pester people but to protect them." The minister promised to put pressure on the appropriate bodies in order to improve the financial backing of the police so that the members would not have to... envy the perpetrators their technical gadgets," as well as to increase the number of policemen. He also clearly allayed the fears of the members who were concerned about the permanence of their job.

Religious Education To Begin in September

AU2908140390 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 25 Aug 90 p 3

[CTK report: "About Religious Education"]

[Text] Representatves of churches and religious communities met yesterday with P. Vopenka, [Czech] minister of education, to discuss questions concerning religious education in the schools. The meeting resulted in the following joint statement: According to Law No. 29/1984—and as per Law No. 171/1990 on the system of elementary and high schools—the elementary, high, and special schools and educational institutions provide for a religious education. All churches and religious communities recognized by the state may organize religious education conforming to the ethical and humane principles of instructing and educating. The religious instruction may commence 1 September 1990, provided that the financial issues are dealt with during the school year 1990-1991. The organization of the instruction is described in the regulations issued by the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Physical Training of the Czech Republic, which are to be published in UCITELSKE NOVINY.

Slovak Premier Criticizes Hungarian 'Interference'

AU2908092890 Bratislava SMENA (Special Supplement) in Slovak 25 Aug 90 pp 13, 14, 15

[Speech by Slovak Republic Premier Vladimir Meciar at the general assembly of the Slovak National Heritage Foundation in Martin, Central Slovakia, on 10 August]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] An important issue affecting our future, but also our past, is the question of relations with our southern neighbor. I beg you to differentiate between citizens of the Slovak Republic of Hungarian nationality and our southern neighbor, by which I mean the Hungarian Republic.

Never in my life would I dare declare that I am the premier of all Slovaks in the world. Everyone has his own citizenship and state power is executed by the state of which he is a citizen. I therefore reject out of principle the claim of the premier of the Hungarian Republic that he is the premier of all 15 million Hungarians, by which he means also those living on our territory. Our Hungarians have their government in Bratislava and in Prague.

You are well aware that recently we have been coming across many historical reassessments in the Hungarian Republic. These reassessments entail a great deal of nationalism because they cast doubt on the existence of the state border, on the Trianon Treaty. To this, we reply that our state border is inviolable. We know how to safeguard its protection. We need not be told where the border will be drawn. The only thing that can be a subject of discussion is the function of this border. Considerations about shifts in the border are out of the question, we have no one with whom to discuss them.

Not so long ago, a leading Hungarian representative told me that we are taking two steps away from Prague and that he hopes that these will be steps in the direction of Budapest. I replied to him that we are not taking two steps away from Prague, and do not want to take them. I assured him that, even if this happened, we would never take these two steps in the direction of Budapest, but toward the independence and sovereignty of the Slovak Republic.

Who Is Afraid of Truth?

We made it clear that this is our country and that it will never again be Upper Hungary. This is where we have our roots, where we live, where we are ready to cooperate with everyone who comes here with good intentions. We are interested neither in the renewal of St. Stephen's crown nor in the restoration of Hungary in its former borders reaching up to the Tatra. We made it clear to them that the history of Hungary is perceived differently by the Slovak and Hungarian nations. If they look at it through our eyes, they must see that it was in a tough struggle against forcible Magyarization that we gained our right of existence [as a nation].

We do not intend to permit any repetition of these mistakes. We made clear to one another many things concerning relations with Hungarians in Slovakia and relations with Slovaks in the Hungarian Republic. We told each other frankly what we think. We told them about the interference of mass media in the Hungarian Republic in our elections, about the misinformation that Hungarian media deliberately spread in southern Slovakia and also in Hungary, according to which Slovaks are slave drivers who do everything but beat their Hungarian fellow citizens. All this is stupid and nonsense. Why is the truth not being told? Who is afraid of it? We have sent several protests, yet it is becoming apparent that our mass media will have to wage a very intensive struggle to explain the truth and show the reality in Slovakia. It is not for [Slovak] Hungarian-language radio and television broadcasts to speculate whether to use or not to use the Slovak names of villages. They should, rather, ponder how to explain our historical truth and our reality also to the citizens in the Hungarian Republic, who also follow these broadcasts.

We are ready to cooperate with the Hungarian Republic in all fields. We will welcome all guarantees of fruitful and useful cooperation—be it trade, the free movement of labor, an open border without customs, or other steps. This, however, must never take place on the basis of nationalism and questioning of the present realities in Europe. That is not a platform for negotiations. One cannot ask the Slovak government to go to Budapest to consult about the territorial arrangement in Slovakia. There are attempts to create a state of national isolation in southern Slovakia. There are indications showing that certain circles would like to organize the Catholic Church not on the territorial basis but on a national basis, with its center at Ostrihom [Slovak name for Esztergom]. We cannot ignore this. These are factors which give rise to serious concern on our part.

We Respect the Inviolability of Borders

As far as our citizens of Hungarian nationality are concerned, there are some basic issues which we must respect. First and foremost, they are citizens of the Slovak Republic. This needs to be realized by everyone. Second, the nationalist or national principle must not take precedence over universal human values. It is one of these values but it must not be the only and decisive value. The solution to social peace belongs to our relations [sentence as published]. We do not want to have any nationally motivated political clashes in southern Slovakia and will do all we can to prevent them. We will do enough, as you will soon be able to convince yourselves. You will then understand why the government says that we should wait a little before tackling the language issue. At the same time, we declare that a law on the language will be passed. If there is something we would like to ask of you, it is understanding. We favor a certain sequence of steps. We declared in the election campaign of the Public Against Violence movement—and we declare now—that there will be neither a Karabakh nor a Transylvania in southern Slovakia, or any other kind of unrest. We want to settle our relations in a cultured way. We have one year in which to comprehensively arrange these relations. Within a year we want the Constitution of the Slovak Republic to be in force. Once the constitutions of the national republics are in place, the constitution of the federation will be drawn up on their basis, and not the other way around as has been the case so far.

We respect the principle of the inviolability of borders. This is also why we do not respond to the movements in the Subcarpathian Ukraine which call for the annexation of Ruthenia back to the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. [passage omitted]

CTK: Hungarian Foreign Minister Criticizes Media

LD3008110190 Prague CTK in English 0949 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest Aug 30 (CTK correspondent)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky has said at the close of his official visit to Czechoslovakia, which ended yesterday, that the talks with his Czechoslovak counterpart Jiri Dienstbier were successful and fulfilled the expectation.

He voiced the hope that he will have an opportunity to meet with Slovak representatives in Budapest or Bratislava in the nearest future.

Jeszenszky criticized Czechoslovak mass media for alleged misinterpretation of his statements. At a meeting with Hungarian journalists, he reaffirmed the intention of Hungary to leave the Warsaw Pact military section by the end of 1991 and not by the end of this year as an interpreter wrongly translated at a press conference in Prague.

Jeszenszky also expressed regret at the fact that his statement about the Trianon agreement was used by the Czechoslovak press as a sensation. He said at a press conference in Prague on August 28 that Hungary does not recognize the 1920 Trianon agreement but added that the Hungarian Government recognizes the 1947 peace agreement as well as the Helsinki Conference Final Act opposing any violent changes of borders. On the basis of the Trianon agreement, Hungary had to pass parts of its territory to Yugoslavia, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Austria after the fall of Austria-Hungary.

Deputy Premier Receives RSFSR's Filshin

LD2908194290 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Today in Prague Vaclav Vales, deputy premier of the CSFR, received Gennadiy Filshin, deputy premier of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. The Russian Federation representative first briefed him in detail on preparations for the economic reform and on the division of powers between the republic and the union. Their further discussions focused on the main principles of economic and trade relations between Czechoslovakia and the Russian Federation in the coming period.

'Regrets' Expressed for Article on Soviet Envoy

AU2908143990 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 25 Aug 90 p 3

[CTK report: "Unsubstantiated Information"]

[Text] Prague—During an informal meeting with A. Udaltsov, councillor of the Soviet Embassy in Prague, L. Dobrovsky, deputy minister and spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, expressed his regrets over the unsubstantiated information on B. Pankin, Soviet ambassador to the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, which the magazine RESPEKT published in issue No. 24 in the article entitled "The Swedish Connection." L. Dobrovsky emphasized that Ambassador Pankin's work contributes greatly to the normalization of the relationship between the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic and the USSR.

GERMAN UNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: *In order to provide information concerning German unification in one location for the benefit of our readers, material on that topic from the FRG, GDR, and other media is now being published in the German Unification Attachment to the West Europe DAILY REPORT. The next issue of the attachment will be published 6 September 1990.*

Former SED Officials' Investigations Continue

AU3108195390 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Aug 90 p 3

[ADN report: "Honecker: No Responsibility for Commercial Coordination"]

[Text] Berlin—"Erich Honecker rejects any responsibility" for the sphere of Commercial Coordination, which was headed for many years by Schalck-Golodkowski, who now lives in the West. According to the general state prosecutor, the former leader of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and head of state stated this to the investigating body on Monday. On Tuesday [28 August], press spokesman Peter Przybylski told ADN that Honecker also rejected any responsibility for the squandering of 62.5 million marks for the privileged supplies to the Wandlitz forest settlement.

The press spokesman said that the former state leader is still charged with having promised Gerald Goetting, the then chairman of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU], to continue to pay him the salary of the president of the People's Chamber, even though, at that time, he had not been reelected into this post. Recently, investigations were also carried out against the former general secretary of the SED "on the grounds of suspected acts of manslaughter," which are based on his responsibility as chairman of the National Defense Council for the actions at the state border with the FRG and West Berlin. It was stated, however, that so far no conclusive evidence has been supplied showing Honecker's cooperation in favoring Red Army Faction terrorists.

Former Council of Ministers Chairman Willi Stoph continues to be charged with having used about 6 million marks from the state budget for reconstructing and maintaining his holiday estate. Stoph claims, however, that he is no longer able to follow the interrogations. Przybylski has stated that Erich Mielke, the former head of the state security, does not show any readiness either to comment on the accusations against him. The 82-year-old man continues to be in detention awaiting trial.

Yet, Guenter Mittag, the former Central Committee economic secretary, was released from prison on 2 August because of his "considerably poor state of health." Nevertheless, investigation procedures against him will be continued. According to the press spokesman of the general state prosecutor, objects worth about 1 million marks were confiscated at Mittag's home, including jewels and precious metals from his personal property.

Ex-Stasi Reportedly 'Preselected' La Belle Files

AU0409142390 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 4 Sep 90 p 2

[Ralf Georg Reuth report: "Mielke, Honecker, Krenz, and Axen Knew About Plans of Libyan Terrorists"]

[Text] Berlin, 3 September—This is a story that is difficult to believe. It deals with the futile efforts of the West Berlin investigating authorities and of attempts by East Berlin to cover up the fact that leading representatives of the old Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] regime were involved in a crime. This also throws a negative light on the current situation in the GDR. What is meant is the German-German cooperation for clearing up the bomb attack on the "La Belle" discotheque at Friedenau, which was mainly frequented by U.S. soldiers, an attack that was carried out by Libyan terrorists in April 1986, in which three people were killed and more than 200 injured.

For weeks the West Berlin investigators did not make any progress. The first hint pointed to Palestinian terrorists controlled by Syria. Information that the wire-pullers behind the attack are to be sought in Libya was first presented by the United States. It consisted of decoded radio messages between the East Berlin People's Bureau, which is the name of the Libyan Embassy, and authorities in Tripoli. After Washington carried out a retaliatory strike against Al-Qadhdhafi's headquarters, West German media and political parties accused the Reagan administration of having sought only a pretext for a "military aggression." In the meantime—after a series of apparent successes—the investigations got stuck. Finally, the case was dropped in 1988.

In April of this year it was resumed. It became public only several months later that a colonel of the former Ministry for State Security [Stasi], who headed the "Foreigners Working Group" there, stated to members of the FRG Federal Intelligence Service [BND] and the West Berlin Office for State Protection in Munich that not only Minister Mielke, but also State Council Chairman Honecker, Krenz, and Axen received "continuous and detailed" information about the measures and plans of Libyan terrorists. As early as late 1985, they already knew about it. The necessary countermeasures by the responsible department, however, were rejected on the grounds of "U.S. imperialism" being the "main enemy" and not Libya, which was threatened in its existence.

The colonel further said that the members of the department found out at an early stage that an attack was to be planned on 26 March. Since 20 March 1986, the head of counterintelligence, Lieutenant General Kratsch, supplied information to Mielke almost every day. In turn, Mielke passed on this information to Honecker, Krenz, and Axen. Shortly before 26 March, detailed information was compiled for Honecker and Krenz. After the bomb attack, orders were given "from the very top" that everything the State Security Service knew in connection with this matter had to be kept top secret and that no efforts were to be spared to prevent the discovery of the Libyan authorship of the attack.

A few days after the bombing, Libyan citizen Ashur (he is said to have been a double agent, who informed the United States about Libya's authorship at an early stage) was "executed" by Libyan terrorists in East Berlin; exact information about the perpetrators was once again available to the State Security Service. The communicative colonel said that once again investigations were halted on highest-level orders.

As a consequence of his statement, the West Berlin state prosecutor issued an arrest warrant against six "accused persons of Arabic origin" in the middle of July. One of them, Lebanese-born Ali Mansur, would be arrested soon afterwards. As early as at the beginning of June, the state prosecutor asked the GDR general state prosecutor, via a request for judicial assistance, to surrender the files of the Ministry for State Security, which are administered by the GDR Interior Ministry. Because of the statements made by the colonel, the West Berlin investigating authorities knew about the "operations" "Lux" ("La Belle") and "Box" (Libyan People's Bureau in East Berlin).

Only when, after a long and futile waiting period, State Secretary Schomburg of the West Berlin judicial authorities presented an application to the authorities in the Eastern part of the city, at the end of July, were the investigators able to examine files in connection with the "operation" "Lux"—yet not "Box." The files had been preselected, however, which was clearly proved by broken seals, blurs, and missing documents. The only thing these papers revealed was that Mielke had been informed about the planned terrorist attack on the discotheque at Friedenau.

After further Western requests for access to the really relevant files remained without response from the responsible authorities, and after Ali Mansur, who was strongly suspected of being involved in the crime, had to be released from detention since the colonel's incriminating evidence was not sufficient to continue to substantiate the suspicion, GDR Interior Minister Diestel, who is responsible for the Central Office for Criminal Investigations [ZKA], and who claimed that the inspection of the files of the Ministry for State Security had been concluded without any results concerning the perpetrators or group of perpetrators, increasingly became the center of criticism. Apart from the police trade union, it was in particular Interior Senator Paetzold who headed the list of critics. Paetzold let it be understood that Diestel would be confronted with the question "whether he was willing to do everything to clarify crimes in which former SED leaders or Stasi members might be involved."

Last Thursday afternoon [30 August], the West Berlin Office for the Protection of the State was unexpectedly told that a truckload of additional files had arrived at the ZKA and that these files were open for inspection. The 42 boxes, which came from the former Stasi State Security headquarters on Normannenstrasse, apart from records concerning the "Red Army Faction complex," operations of left- and right-wing extremists in West Berlin, and further files about the "operation" "Lux," for the first time also contained files about "Box" and the "execution" of Ashur. Only a short time after they inspected the records, which were supplied along with an index of the GDR State Archive Administration dated 28 August, the members of the West Berlin Office for the Protection of the State were once again disappointed at finding out that these files had also been "preselected."

As has now been found out, several members of Diestel's ZKA have dealt with relevant files since the middle of May. According to available information, these members of the GDR ZKA are the same people who used to work in the Main Division 9 of the former Ministry for State Security. In other words: Mielke's secret service people, who were active in connection with the "La Belle" case, and who are therefore particularly familiar with this case, for weeks have been busy preselecting these highly delicate files and preparing them for the Western users, who were long waiting in vain.

The whole affair has been given additional importance through the detention of an Arab named Ali Chanaa. He was arrested on 27 August in East Berlin and handed over to West Berlin authorities four days later, and he is said to have been a liaison man between the State Security and the bombers who worked on the instructions of Libya. Chanaa has now allegedly stated that—which the communicative colonel did not know or did not disclose for understandable reasons—the State Security Service did not play the passive role in the attack on the discotheque.

In Berlin one has concluded from this that the "cliques" of the former State Security Service and the old SED continue to operate freely in the ZKA and the GDR Interior Ministry. The chairman of the police trade union of the Berlin land district, Von Walsleben, even gets the impression that the handing over of the files means that "former Stasi members have now even initiated measures within the ZKA of East Berlin to discharge Diestel." What remains against all this is the often-asked question about the role of the GDR interior minister—not only in connection with the files of the "La Belle" case.

De Maiziere Assesses Economic Ties With Sweden

LD0409084490 East Berlin Radio Aktuell Network in German 2010 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Report on interview with Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere by reporter Andre Bockow on return flight from Sweden; date not given]

[Text] After Prime Minister de Maiziere took part in the environmental conference in Ronneby, he met with representatives of Swedish industry in Stockholm. During the return flight the prime minister found time to discuss economic relations with our northern neighbors with our reporter Andre Bockow.

[Begin recording] [Bockow] It is not the first time that you have met representatives of industry in the relevant countries on trips abroad. You have done it regularly. What would you say was common to all these talks and what was specific about the ones here in Sweden?

[De Maiziere] The common strand in all the journeys I have undertaken and all the talks I have held was campaigning for investment on the territory of the GDR or the future five new federal laender. Here in Sweden there was the additional fact of traditionally having relatively good economic relations with the GDR. I recall how many hotels in our country have been built by Swedish construction companies. I am thinking of Hotel Bellevue in Dresden or the Palace Hotel or the Metropol Hotel or other things, and for this Swedish firms were given GDR products; and it has grown up historically that there are certain links involving Northern Germany, going right back to Hansa times. I think that Europe will in the future think much more in terms of regions, and that the Baltic will be such a region. Perhaps a renaissance of trade will not come about but it was already perceivable that the Baltic separates us from one another, but at the same time links us all.

[Bockow] Do large Swedish firms, however, and in particular firms in the medium-sized sector, these economic units in general, have a chance in the East German market in view of the very strong competition from the Western part of Germany?

[De Maiziere] You are forgetting that the Swedish economy is a very efficient one, and even in the past few weeks it became clear that a prerequisite for this policy of a trust agency is competition among competitors, and whoever makes the best offer will get it.

[Bockow] A final question, perhaps, on the Swedish [economic] model, about which much is asserted. If it does not have the efficiency necessary today, many would say it has failed. The question is whether, in your opinion, something of what is called the Swedish model could be taken on by the future united Germany. What could we learn from [Sweden]?

[De Maiziere] I think conditions in Sweden and in a future united Germany are very different. Sweden is a country three times larger territorially than the current FRG, and twice as large as a united Germany. On this territory 8 million people live, while in our country it will be around 80 million. For this reason Sweden has a totally different starting point. It recognized social and ecological problems early on. Probably because the natural [word indistinct] of the situation is greater for nature because of the longer winters than in our country. To provide these services Sweden has a tax policy which has to be regarded simply as antibusiness. Taxes go up to 90 percent, which last year led to the fact that only 10 percent of profits were reinvested in Sweden while 90 percent of capital looks to invest abroad or in our region. A national economy cannot sustain this in the long term, with the result that the Swedes will have to rethink their taxation policy. [end recording]

New Talks To Be Held With Soviets in Sep

LD0409201490 Budapest MTI in English 1817 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Budapest, September 4 (MTI)—The prime minister's press office forwarded the following communique to MTI on Tuesday [4 September]:

The Hungarian and Soviet Governments have agreed to hold talks in Budapest in mid-September to clarify the financial and proprietary rights issues related to the Soviet troops withdrawal.

Prime Minister Jozsef Antall received Soviet Ambassador Ivan Aboimov on Tuesday. Aboimov said, with respect to the letter of Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov addressed to the Hungarian premier, that the Soviet Government had passed a measure to open negotiations.

The two government delegations will meet in the Hungarian capital under the leadership of the ministers of international economic relations—Bela Kadar of Hungary and Konstantin Katushev of the Soviet Union. A Soviet working committee is to arrive in Budapest a few days ahead of talks, to prepare the discussions.

The Hungarian-Soviet talks will also be attended by high-ranking representatives of the specialized ministries of the two governments concerned in the matter: Representating the Hungarians are the secretaries of state, or their deputies, of the Ministries of Defence, Foreign Affairs, Finance, Justice, and Environmental Protection and Regional Development.

At the meeting with the ambassador, Mr. Antall stressed that the Hungarian Government attaches major significance to the success of the talks. Although all details cannot be settled within a few days, the tendencies and bases of settlement should be outlined.

At the meeting between the Hungarian prime minister and the Soviet ambassador, views were exchanged about the ongoing talks on the re-examination of the Warsaw Pact, and the related session of the Political Consultative Committee, scheduled to be held in Budapest in November. Discussions were also held about all foreign and home political issues which were of interest to the two sides in the past period.

Mr. Antall said Hungary does not wish to withdraw from the Soviet market, it rather considers ongoing trade with the Soviet Union as its long-term economic interest, but this is expected to increasingly imply direct relations, and inter-company cooperation with the republics. The problems accompanying the reduction of Soviet petroleum deliveries to Hungary, which we have recently intensified as a result of the Kuwaiti crisis, were also discussed. Both sides expressed their hope that the current problems which make economic relations difficult will be gradually eliminated.

Oil, Gas Trust Plans To Buy Oil on Free Market

LD0509093290 Budapest MTI in English 0843 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Budapest, September 5, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Hungarian Oil and Gas Trust (OKGT) proposes to buy 450,000 tones of light crude and 20,000 tonnes of 98-octane car fuel on the free market to make up for the cut-back in deliveries by the Soviet Union, a senior OKGT official told MTI-ECONEWS.

The company intends to buy the oil in October and November at a price of 110-120 million USD [U.S. dollars].

The petrol will, however, arrive by the middle of September in order to avoid a shortage in domestic supply.

Instead of the contracted amount of 310,000 tonnes of car fuel, the Soviet Union has delivered only 203,000 tonnes up to now, and has said that it will not be able to supply any in September.

It seems that the Soviet Union will probably export only 5.092 million tonnes of oil to Hungary this year, as against the contracted amount of 6.48 million tonnes.

Early this year OKGT bought 208,000 tones of Iraqi oil for 30 million USD, and more recently, 243,000 tonnes of Algerian and Libyan oil, for 60 million USD.

Since Hungary has sufficient reserves of heating oil, the OKGT intends to export the heating oil derived from the 450,000 tonnes of light crude, and thus recoup some 25-30 million dollars.

Iraq Suspends Foreign Debt Repayment

LD0509092690 Budapest MTI in English 0847 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Budapest, September 5, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Iraqi decision to suspend the repayment of its foreign debts has also affected Hungary. Iraq owes Hungary a commercial credit of 145 million USD [U.S. dollars], with repayment due to be completed by 1995.

Following a rescheduling request by Iraq for 40 million USD early this year, Iraq should repay 19.1 million USD this year, but so far only 3 million USD have been received.

In the 1980s the Iraqi market was extremely lucrative for Hungary. Between 1980 and 1986 Hungarian exports to Iraq amounted to 1.1 billion USD, whereas imports stood at only 10 milllion USD.

Prime Minister Receives CSFR Ambassador

LD0409220990 Budapest MTI in English 2008 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Budapest, September 4 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall received Rudolf Chmel, the new ambassador of the Czech and Slovak Republic, in his parliament office on Tuesday. At cordial talks, the two men reviewed relations between the two countries.

Discussions were held about the construction of the Gabcikovo dam, and the situation of the Hungarian national minority in Czechoslovakia. The sides agreed that issues debated should be examined calmly, in an objective spirit, and with the intention of reaching agreement.

Mr Antall stressed Hungary abides by the principles set down in the Helsinki final act. It attaches major importance to the full enforcement of general human and national minority rights.

Defense Minister Fur on Policy, Politics

LD0409224190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1435 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Remarks by Defense Minister Lajos Fur at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed chairman, esteemed half House [as heard], esteemed fellow deputies:

According to the information of Defense Ministry leaders and experts, there is no law, no decree or regulation which excludes civilian and military army personnel from participating in social societies and organizations, including political parties. They should be able to undertake various posts there.

The service code, however, rules out two things—namely, that no one can use his knowledge resulting from his employment in the service of any of the social associations and organizations; and second, the reverse is also true— he cannot bring into his job in the service any political or other endeavor of his social association and organization.

To come to the point of the matter, as long as nations continue to exist, national histories will also exist. National histories are always reconstructed from the point of view—from the perspective—of the nation. It will continue to be this way in the future, too; not because this is what the present requires, but because those who experienced these events also experienced them from this particular aspect. Thus, to speak plainly, if this is what writing national history does, then it reconstructs reality.

It is obvious, however, that, as in the history of every nation, conflicts and controversies also exist in our history. Most of the conflicts of any given nation during its history always result from conflicts with its neighbors. The conflicts can be of different severities—the most severe ones are military conflicts and the peace treaties ending them. These conflicts generally end with one party losing and the other winning. It would be very odd if the losing party behaved as if it had won and if the winner behaved as if had lost. It is obvious, therefore, that these circumstances can only be judged on the basis of the national aspect of justice and historical reality.

It would be very peculiar indeed and nobody in Hungary would think of evaluating the fatal Mohacs battle [in 1526 when Hungary lost against the Turkish Army and 150 years of Turkish occupation began] from the point of view of Turkish national history. [applause]

It is also obvious that the Mohacs battle was not the victorious battle of Suleiman's soldiers, but a bloody and cruel battle resulting in tragic consequences; this is what the second Mohacs battle was like, too.

The second Mohacs battle that, in Hungarian history, was concluded by Trianon, began in 1914 and ended with the Trianon peace. However, we evaluate this—the greatest turning point in the fate of Hungarian history in the 20th century, which had the most far-reaching effects—with Trianon. Its consequences are almost immeasurable, and are truly as important as the aforementioned Mohacs.

I think we can all agree on this; it was a fateful turn in Hungarian history. For this reason, it is our very important task to put this in its rightful place in Hungarian general thought, in Hungarian learning, and in Hungarian education, in contrast with the preceeding four decades when there was either silence, or ranting, or a blurring of the issue and the truth was not (?uttered). [applause]

It is a different question how this can be inserted—almost fed in—in a worthy way into public thought. There can be arguments about, for example, whether, from the point of view of reshaping public thought, it is a good thing or not to erect a memorial, or whether it is not in this way but in another way that we should take care of the effect and role of Trianon in Hungarian history. Should he truly be given a worthy place in our national public thought? There can also be arguments if we decide to erect a memorial. Should we reerect what was there before? Should it be put back the way it was, or modernized? Or should we erect a memorial instead which truly bears the spirit of our times and corresponds to the modern requirements and demands of the end of the 20th century?

One thing, however—this belongs here, too—one single thing cannot be accepted. There can be no argument over one single thing—namely, that anybody should force their own views and will onto others. There can be arguments and differences of views also on the question of how we evaluate Trianon; there can be subtle or profound differences in views. Moreover, views can be diametrically opposed, but both the historian and the democrat in me protests against either being given exclusivity. Thus, this cannot be permitted. We know that this kind of thing happened. We suffered for a long time and we cannot allow this to be repeated.

It is also important—and I draw attention of the esteemed House—that we do not create links between the valuation of past events—learning and any kind of view of the past, and politics; mainly links of subordination, which could paralyze clearsightedness—and the activity and operation of learning, the correct mechanism of the nation's memory. If we subordinate the evaluation of the past to politics—and in the first place daily politcs—we will run the same course as the former communist dictatorship. They constantly subordinated every evaluation to the requirements of daily politics. This distorts in the same way as raising any view to an exclusive status world.

Esteemed House, my dear fellow deputies. The politics in this question—I must tell you that, together with the Antall government, the new defense leadership greatly respects, acknowledges, and keeps in mind constantly in its practical politics all the important clauses of the Helsinki Final Act. Among others is the one which exludes the possibility of anybody changing the borders of Europe's countries through force. [applause] We, for ourselves, very much consider this to be compulsory. [applause]

How much is this so? Please listen to the new defense leadership's most recent standpoint to this effect, which cam out about five days ago, last Friday [31 August]. The brief document bears this title: The Main Organizing Principles of the Military Aspects of the Security Policy of the Republic of Hungary. Last Friday morning the following decision was made: The principles below determine the military aspects of our security policy. I quote verbatim: 1. We build our relations with every country and group of countries on the basis of mutual respect, equality, goodwill and nonintervention in other's internal affairs. 2. Apart from defending the country's independence, its territorial inviolability, and sovereignty, our country has no objectives which are to be achieved through military force. We do not want to change the current borders of the Republic of Hungary through force. If, however, aggression befalls our country, we will resolutely defend our independence and our borders. Our country does not regard any country as an enemy. We have no preconceived enemy concept. [applause]

As I have mentioned, this document was passed by a session of the Ministry of Defense cabinet office on Friday morning last week. I head this cabinet. My deputy is Dr. Ernoe Raffay, political state secretary. The decision was reached unanimously, in unity. Everyone present voted for it whole-heartedly, with the utmost good intentions.

As a consequence, it also follows that, in accordance with what was said earlier, I think that there is no need to draw political consequences. I ask my esteemed fellow deputies, and also the esteemed deputy who submitted the question, to please accept my reply in these terms and in this sprit. [applause]

National Security, Information Heads Retire

LD0509111190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] The government has relieved Lajos Nagy, general director of the National Security Office, and Istvan Derte, head of the Information Office, of their positions due to their retirement.

Minister Without Portfolio Peter Boross told MTI, in connection with the personnel changes, that the retirements were due to the influence of personnel changes deriving from the change in the system. Steps will be taken later for the statutory appointment of the new leaders.

Antall Holds Talks With Catholic Bishops

LD0309223890 Budapest MTI in English 1908 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Budapest, September 3 (MTI)—Prime Minister Jozsef Antall received the Hungarian Catholic bishops in parliament on Monday. The first meeting between the prime minister and the Catholic Bishops' Conference was also attended by members of the government, such as Bertalan Andrasfalvy, minister of culture and public education, Istvan Balsai, minister of justice, Balazs Horvath, minister of the interior, Ferenc Rabar, minister of finance and Laszlo Surjan, minister of social welfare.

In the course of the 90-minute cordial exchange of views, Mr Antall congratulated Dr Istvan Seregely, archbishop of Eger, on his appointment as the new president of the Catholic Bench of Bishop's Conference.

In his short address, the prime minister touched upon the difficult situation of the country, and stressed that in its fight to overcome the severe crisis—especially in reversing the country's moral and spiritual decline—the government would need the help of the churches, particularly that of the largest, namely the Catholic Church.

The prime minister proposed setting up a committee including government and church representatives to take stock of the nationalized real estates of the church as well as to provide the facilities needed for the successful operation of church institutions. The bishops approved the proposal.

Dr Istvan Seregely, archbishop of Eger and new president of the Hungarian bench of Bishops' conference, forwarded the greetings of the religious community, priests and bishops to the new government, wishing it every success in its efforts to create a new political and economic system, so turning Hungary into a respected member of a united Europe as soon as possible.

Skubiszewski: 'Solidarity' Felt With Kuwait

AU0409145190 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 30 Aug 90 pp 1, 3

[Malgorzata Leczycka report: "Kuwaiti Mission in Poland—Foreign Minister Skubiszewski: 'Feelings of Solidarity With Kuwait'"]

[Text] Minister of State Fahd al-Hassawi, Kuwait's special envoy, paid a two-day visit to Poland. He delivered a special message to the Polish president from Kuwait's Amir Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabbah. The message speaks of the Iraqi aggression, its consequences, and the steps being taken to secure the status quo that existed before the invasion.

Fahd al-Hassawi held talks with President Jaruzelski, Prime Minister Mazowiecki, and Foreign Minister Skubiszewski.

Asked by RZECZPOSPOLITA to assess the visit of Kuwait's special envoy, Krzysztof Skubiszewski said the following:

"I talked for over 50 minutes with the representative of Kuwait's Amir. I presented Poland's stand on the armed conflict between Iraq and Kuwait, which resulted from Iraq's aggression. I said that Poland was particularly sensitive to all cases of international conflict where armed force and not peaceful means was resorted to. The present case is particularly grave, because it is not simply a case of armed conflict, but the occupation of another state's territory and an attempt to liquidate this state by annexation. We do not recognize these acts and we strictly abide by the UN Security Council's resolutions which bind us as a member of the United Nations. We think that these serve Kuwaiti aims—namely, to restore things to what they were before the Iraqi attack.

"Next, I mentioned the substantial losses that Poland is bearing as a result of the conflict, especially regarding supplies of crude oil. I pointed out that the Iraqi-Kuwaiti conflict has a global dimension, because it is happening in a region that is particularly important for crude oil supplies. Crude oil is needed by the West and Eastern Europe, as well as, for example, Japan and other industrialized countries of the Far East.

"In my talk with Minister Fahd al-Hassawi, I touched upon the specific issue of losses suffered by Polish citizens working in Kuwait, who had to leave and abandon all their property and bank accounts. I suggested that the Kuwaiti Government might consider taking certain steps which would mitigate these losses, at least in part. It could consider making advance payments to Poles who had bank accounts in Kuwait. Kuwaiti banks have branch offices worldwide, and thus the Kuwaiti authorities have the option of using these resources. The answer was that my proposals would be notified to the appropriate authorities. Kuwait must also bear in mind the losses that were sustained by many foreigners who were working there. From our side, there is no difficulty in compiling a list of all Poles who would be interested in such preliminary moves to settle their claims. Polish property, apart from losses suffered by individuals, is estimated to be worth about $8.5 million.

"I also talked about the fact that the Kuwaiti Government and the amir, the head of state, have been deprived of their country and are presently residing abroad. Poland will continue to maintain relations with the Kuwaiti Government outside its own territory. The Kuwaiti special envoy expressed deep satisfaction with Poland's stance in the face of the Iraqi-Kuwaiti conflict and our strict compliance with the Security Council resolution. He did not have any other suggestions to convey to us, other than to urge us to maintain the position that we have adopted.

"I know that the amir's envoy was very pleased with the outcome of his talks with President Jaruzelski and Prime Minister Mazowiecki. He informed the representatives of the Polish authorities of the situation in Kuwait and the legal position of the Kuwaiti authorities.

"My assessment of this visit is favorable. I believe that the contact between Poland and Kuwait was necessary, and it showed our feeling of solidarity with a state that has been attacked, something that is quite inadmissible from every aspect of international law, morality, and political expediency, that is to say, the preservation of peace in this very sensitive part of the world, where there is no lack of other conflicts. Were Iraq's military dominance of Kuwait to continue, it would pose a serious threat to peace, because the conflict might spread."

Participation in UN Peace Mission Possible

LD0409115290 Warsaw PAP in English 1040 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 4—Spokesman for the Defence Ministry, Lieutenant-Colonel Ireneusz Czyzewski said he could not rule out the possibility of participation by Polish soldiers in a new U.N. peace-keeping mission.

Speaking during a press conference today, the spokesman said that Poland has rich traditions of participation in U.N. peace-keeping forces as well is in various international missions.

"I think that all this has been taken into consideration by the U.N. secretary general, who while implementing the resolution of the General Assembly adopted last May, asked Poland to prepare properly equipped subunits ready to be quickly moved to a possible region of operation of U.N. peace-keeping forces.

"The ministry's officials responded positively to the proposal and found it possible to form several-dozen or so strong group of observers composed of properly trained officers fluent in English. The ministry also expressed its readiness to form an infantry batallion trained to perform observation tasks and to separate sides to a conflict or a logistics batallion.

"It is hard to say now whether, when and to what region of the world Polish soldiers would be sent. This will depend on the U.N.'s proposal and, obviously, on the decision of the Polish Government," said the ministry spokesman.

Skubiszewski on Polish-German Border Treaty

LD0209022990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 1 Sep 90

["Excerpt" of interview with Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski by unidentified reporter "on the 51st anniversary of the German Nazi attack on Poland"; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Skubiszewski] Today, a new territorial situation has arisen in Europe. It has existed for a long time, it has stabilized; there is no longer a German-Polish frontier problem. This territorial order that has been created is the basis of reconciliation, forgetting, and the opening of a new chapter. Poles well understand the German experience, as they, themselves, had to leave their homelands in the east. Here I would like to say that the governmental declaration by Chancellor Kohl on 21 June, in connection with the passing of the resolution by the Bundestag confirming the German-Polish border, is very important for Polish-German relations. The chancellor's speech on (?5 August) on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Charter of Expellees was very important. In both statements by the chancellor, important words were said; they were unusually important moments for our relations. They create good prospects for a Polish-German treaty on cooperation and good neighborly relations. The Foreign Ministry in Warsaw is already working on this treaty and [word indistinct] very soon after unification we are going to discuss it, (?particularly) when we sign the planned treaty confirming the frontiers.

Foreign Ministry Protests Berlin Entry Rules

LD0109044590 Warsaw PAP in English 2348 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 31.—In connection with the announced modification in the conditions of entering West Berlin starting September 1, the Polish Foreign Ministry immediately reacted pointing to the fact that the planned moves are taken without any prior notice with the Polish authorities and do not serve the development of mutual contacts and cooperation of both nations.

Foreign ministries of both German states and representatives of three Western powers are planning to modify, as of September 1, this year, the Allies' regulations of 1967 on the conditions of entering West Berlin applying to citizens of 6 CMEA countries, Poland included.

Persons on German border declaring the intention to enter West Berlin will be required to meet one of these following conditions: produce hotel reservation document in West Berlin, produce a written invitation of relatives or friends, possess adequate sum of any hard currency but the regulations do not specify how much is adequate.

Austria Institutes Visa Requirement for Poles

LD0409165790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Report on Skubiszewski statement by correspondent Marek Dopierala; place and date not given]

[Text] [Announcer] Poles traveling to Austria will have to have visas starting at midnight tonight. This decision was made by the government in Vienna.

[Dopierala] Visa requirements for Poles have been established upon instructions from [Austrian] Foreign Affairs Minister Franz Loeschnak. In accordance with decisions made by the Council of Ministers here, these instructions come into force at midnight between Tuesday and Wednesday—that is, from today—and will be in force for the next six months. It is not yet clear whether, in the forthcoming interim period, visa stamps will be obtainable not only from the Austrian Embassy, but also directly from the Austrian border authorities. Proof of having the means of subsistence and an invitation will, no doubt, have to be produced. This unpleasant and rather inhospitable move against the Poles has been justified, above all, by the behavior of our compatriots on the Danube—that is, through working and black marketeering, as well as by the increase in crime among Poles most often staying illegally in Vienna. Poles take second place in this regard after Yugoslavs in the Austrian capital. One more thing: Poles in transit through Austria, who hold visas for their country of destination, will be exempt from the Austrian visa obligation. This is Marek Dopierala in Vienna.

[Announcer] What does Minister Skubiszewski have to say on this subject? Our reporter took his tape recorder into the corridors of the deliberating Council of Ministers.

[Begin Skubiszewski recording] My assessment of this decision is decidedly negative. It is contrary to our policy aimed at introducing complete freedom of movement for people in Europe. The Western states treat Poland like an emigration country. This is correct up to a point, as many Poles leave for a short period, yet stay for a long one or forever. This is the difference, as we see it, with Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Nevertheless, I believe that there should be a different solution, a method other than the introduction of visas. [end recording]

Visas Introduced for Austrians

LD0409191190 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] A statement by the foreign minister says it is with surprise and regret that Polish authorities acknowledge the hastily made Austrian decision—a decision which will considerably restrict Polish-Austrian cross-border exchange, as well as other forms of bilateral cooperation. Poland is an open state which is pressing toward the development of European cooperation, including the freedom of personal travel. The decision by the Austrian authorities is contrary to the direction of our strivings, and to the spirit and the letter of the CSCE processes, especially the Vienna and Copenhagen Agreements. The Austrian stand has forced the Polish authorities to take similar action. For six months, Poland is reintroducing visa requirements for Austrian citizens as of 7 September at midnight.

Ambassador Olechowski Queried on NATO Contacts

AU3108151190 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 29 Aug 90 p 4

[Interview with Ambassador to Belgium Tadeusz Olechowski by Zygmunt Slomkowski; place and date not given: "Closer to NATO"—first paragraph is TRYBUNA introduction]

[Text] In line with a decision made by the government of the Republic of Poland, Foreign Affairs Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski has charged Tadeusz Olechowski, ambassador of the Republic of Poland in Brussels, with maintaining contacts with the main headquarters of NATO.

[Slomkowski] Mr. Ambassador, in a sense, you are also the unofficial ambassador to NATO.

[Olechowski] That description goes a bit too far, but I know what you mean. Of course, I have to maintain contacts with NATO on a diplomatic level.

[Slomkowski] What does that entail?

[Olechowski] It is linked to the new situation that has emerged on our continent—in Central and Eastern Europe—in relations between the Eastern and Western parts of Europe, and between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The changes have forced us to take a different view of the military arrangement that has evolved over the past few decades; one that was based on the existence of two opposing blocs. The issue that we are now addressing—it did not, however, appear overnight—is one of conducting a fundamental revision of the two blocs' present strategic principles, of a gradual transition from principles of a military character to those of a political-military nature. This kind of process is already clearly under way in the Warsaw Pact. There are also plans, although they do not proceed in precisely the same direction, for a transformation of NATO. Unlike the Warsaw Pact, however, NATO is not considering the possibility of disbanding itself. As far as Poland is concerned, we completely reject a confrontational approach on the part of the blocs, and we foresee a gradual withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact's military structures. As a result, we can say that there is now a need for change in Poland's bilateral approach to NATO, as there is in the case of the other states in our part of the continent.

[Slomkowski] This has already been reflected in the visit that the Polish foreign minister and the foreign ministers of other states have paid to NATO's main headquarters.

[Olechowski] Yes, they signal a new approach. The USSR, Czechoslovak, and Polish foreign ministers have had meetings with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner in Brussels. It was agreed that Mr. Woerner would pay official visits to these states.

[Slomkowski] It is not, however, just a question of sporadic or occasional contacts.

[Olechowski] That is true; the new situation has prompted—and this applies to both sides—organizational moves intended to institutionalize contacts. The Political Committee division of NATO's main headquarters is setting up a special bureau for contacts with states which are not parties to the North Atlantic Treaty. Mr. Henig Wegener, one of the secretary general's deputies, has been made chief of the bureau. The bureau is currently looking into the forms, mechanisms, and substance of contacts—political, military, or press contacts. I think that these issues will assume a clearer form by the fall.

In the case of Poland and the other states of Eastern and Central Europe, including the USSR, these organizational needs have led to the appointment of diplomatic representatives who are based in Belgium and responsible for permanent contacts with NATO.

[Slomkowski] Can we already talk about concrete actions?

[Olechowski] An example of these new contacts, of informing each other and exchanging views—one that I would even say sets a precedent—was the recent meeting with Mr. Wegener, who briefed us on the extraordinary meeting of the NATO Foreign Ministers Council concerning the situation in the Persian Gulf. We also have other substantive contacts, which make it possible to discuss concrete international problems, as well as—and this is particularly pertinent at the present time—issues connected with the NATO secretary general's planned visit to Warsaw in September.

KPN Said Still Blocking Soviet Garrision HQ

LD0409083390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Since Saturday KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] activists have been blocking the headquarters of the Legnica Garrison of the Northern Group of Soviet Army forces in Legnica. Only one of the side entrances to the building is accessible. The people blocking the garrison are calling on others to sign a petition addressed to the prime minister, [asking him] to undertake effective measures to accelerate the Soviet Army's withdrawal from Poland.

Pollution Problems in Soviet Army Units Viewed

LD0409204990 Warsaw PAP in English 1700 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Szczecin, Sept. 4—Four inspectors of the natural environment department of the voivodship office in Szczecin carried out a preliminary ecological inspection of two Soviet units stationed in the Szczecin voivodship: the navy base in Swinoujscie and the airport in Chojno.

Oil leaks from old German tanks to surface and underground water drew the most criticism on the Swinoujscie base. It is estimated that the oil leaks could amount to 400 L [as received] daily.

In Chojno, sewage is directed to the Rurzyca River and local forests through rain and farming canals. The inspectors stated that the soil was soaked with oil around the fuel distribution station, with underground being affected. No safety measures were noted. All the local bodies in the premises of the airport operate without filters. There are no formal-legal arrangements governing the use of the environment by the Soviet troops.

The Soviet airport in Kluczewo will be inspected in the near future. It is situated near the Miedwie Lake which supplies drinking water for Szczecin.

Break in Soviet Oil Supply Reported

LD0409225290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Excerpt] We have received disturbing news from Plock.

[Unidentified correspondent] At a certain moment, measuring instruments installed at the first station of the pumping facility in [word indistinct] area, near Adamow in Bialystok Province, stopped functioning. After a moment's irritation—and following a precise examination—it was determined that no breakdown had occurred, but that there was in fact no oil in the Friendship [Przyjazn] Pipeline. Quite simply, a dozen or so minutes after 0800 the exporter—that is, the Soviet Union—stopped pumping the liquid raw material in our direction. The break lasted almost 12 hours. Oil later flowed down the transmission arteries: in the southern one to Czechoslovakia and Hungary; and in the northern one in the direction of the Mazowsze refineries and petrochemical works at Plock, and on to Schwedt in East Germany. [passage omitted]

USSR Grants Access to Katyn Documents

LD0509090290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Thanks to the efforts of the Polish Foreign Ministry and our Moscow Embassy, Soviet authorities have decided to make accessible to Polish researchers all the documents concerning the crime committed in Katyn. In this matter Polish researchers can apply directly to the USSR State Central Archives.

Social Democracy's Miller Meets USSR's Yanayev

LD0409222190 Warsaw PAP in English 2118 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, Sept. 4—Member of the political bureau, CPSU CC [Central Committee] Secretary Gennadiy Yanayev met here on September 3 with Secretary General of the Central Executive Committee of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland [SdRP] Leszek Miller who is on vacation in the USSR.

Discussed were problems in the activity of the CPSU and SdRP in view of the democratization of the political life in both countries. Both politicians underlined their mutual interest in improving inter-party contacts.

Cuba Asks Poland To Reschedule Debt Payments

LD0309111390 Warsaw PAP in English 1050 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Havana, Sept 2—Polish-Cuban talks on trade and economic cooperation were held here with the participation of both countries' vice-ministers Dariusz Ledworowski and Miguel Angelo Castillo.

The two sides decided that they would switch to world prices settlements in mutual trade as of 1991.

Cuba asked Poland to reschedule Cuban payments due this year for 1991 because of this country's critical economic situation whereas Poland conditioned any trade in 1991 on Cuba's reducing Poland's foreign trade surplus which now exceeds 70 million rubles.

Mazowiecki Leaves for Baltic States Conference

LD0109191290 Warsaw PAP in English 1519 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 1—Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki left for Sweden today where he will take part in the Conference of Baltic States. Before leaving Mazowiecki told PAP:

This is an important conference called at the initiative of Sweden and Poland. The conference is to be the starting point for a regular and more comprehensive cooperation among the Baltic states. We have certain proposals and there is a lot of issues to be discussed.

Returns From Sweden Visit

LD0409082590 Warsaw PAP in English 2221 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 3—Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki returned from Sweden today after taking part in the ecological conference in Ronneby. He visited Stockholm after the conference and held talks with Sweden's Premier Ingvar Carlsson there.

Upon arriving in Warsaw Mazowiecki told newsmen: "In all our talks we touched upon the possibility of Poles travelling to Scandinavian countries. In talks with Premier Carlsson we continued the matters associated with the conference. We also discussed my motion for the conference of ministers of transportation to tackle the very important matter of the north-south highway, ferry and railway links. The Swedish side is interested in this. "Sweden is present in Poland and will undoubtedly intensify its participation.

"I think that in Sweden and other Scandinavian countries the climate around Poland is positive. It is not a coincidence that we were the initiators of this meeting. This was not only a formal matter but a substantial one too. There is big interest in cooperation with Poland."

ROAD Calls for Early Presidential Elections

LD0209213190 Warsaw PAP in English 1941 GMT 2 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept.2—Following is a resolution of the ROAD Citizens Movement-Democratic Action on the election of Poland's president:

In keeping with the founding declaration of July 16, we favour the soonest possible general presidential elections. This must be preceded by an appropriate amendment to the constitution. The amendment motion tabled by road-member deputies will be reviewed by the Sejm in the immediate future. We appeal to deputies and senators to pass the tabled draft as fast as possible. We expect that General Jaruzelski will deliver on his publically announced promises and resign from the held post at a moment when general presidential elections will be possible.

According to a communique issued by the ROAD press bureau on the meeting of the founding council held September 1, the Council also backs an expeditious adoption of the law on national minorities, postulates the withdrawal of the draft changes to the status of allotment garden plots which were disconcerting for their owners. The Council also discussed the return of religious teaching to schools, criticizing the procedure of its reintroduction.

Spokesman on Possible Jaruzelski Resignation

LD0409194590 Warsaw PAP in English 1806 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept, 4—Asked by PAP journalist: What is the stand of the president following the statement of the ROAD Citizen's Movement-Democratic Action expressing hope that Wojciech Jaruzelski will soon resign from his office, the president's press spokesman Wlodzimierz Lozinski replied:

In connection with this statement and other actions taken recently, I deem it necessary to recall that in a letter of July 28 addressed to the Sejm speaker and presented in the mass media, the president acknowledged his mandate as a part of the electoral timetable which is to be adopted by the Sejm during the September debate.

This is a binding stand. It is strange therefore that action is taken to enforce its confirmation.

The president does not intend to slow down natural political processes but at the same time thinks that so important decisions should be made in the spirit of political culture, respect for the principles of democracy and in keeping with the legal procedure of the functioning of the supreme bodies of state authority.

Bujak Views Situation of Solidarity, Walesa

AU0409193890 Vienna AZ in German 4 Sep 90 p 8

[Interview with Solidarity leader Zbigniew Bujak by Robert Misik in Vienna; date not given: "There Are Better Ones...."]

[Text] [Misik] Mr. Bujak, exactly ten years ago, on 1 September 1980, the mass strike movement of Gdansk forced the legalization of Solidarity. Over the past ten years, your movement has achieved almost everything, but now it threatens to fall apart. Is this a happy or a sad anniversary?

[Bujak] First, Solidarity as a whole is still a trade union today and, at the same time, a modern movement. It is modern in the sense of not resisting those reforms that are necessary. Solidarity is also a social movement, however, with many political facets. These political parts are now becoming polarized. This is a natural process, and this process is very important for the election of the next Parliament. Because only those parties that develop out of Solidarity will be important in the long run. At the moment it is still difficult to say where the difference lies.

[Misik] After all, you are one of the ROAD heads [Citizens Movement-Democratic Action]. Where would you place your movement? Close to Western social democracy?

[Bujak] Not necessarily. The classical criteria no longer apply in our case. Because in the postcommunist countries left, social democracy and communism are considered to be the same. Jacek Kuron said recently: "I would like to be a liberal social democrat in a developed capitalist country. In Poland we have to achieve this in the first place."

[Misik] Thus, do you see your party as a party of capitalist construction with social and modern positions in contrast to the "center" with its traditional and Catholic background?

[Bujak] Yes. If we won the elections, we would insist on two ministries: the Finance Ministry and the Social Affairs Ministry. Because if we limit ourselves to a radical, neoliberal program, we will not be able to cope with the social problems.

[Misik] But, even more than Lech Walesa's movement, your movement supports the course of the government, with its radical program for economic restructuring.

[Bujak] Mazowiecki's program is not a radical program. There are completely different proposals in our movement. I do not criticize the government's course in any way.

[Misik] Over the past few months, the struggle within Solidarity has mainly been caused by Lech Walesa's position and his authoritarian leadership style. Looking at this realistically, would his election to president really be a danger for the young Polish democracy?

[Bujak] Not necessarily a danger. But there are simply better candidates. Walesa's place is in Parliament, as a great speaker, but not in the president's palace.

[Misik] What do you expect from the meeting with leading social democrats and Eastern European politicians, which is currently being organized by the "Renner Institute" [in Vienna]?

[Bujak] We need all kinds of help. At the last such meeting, the "Renner Institute" still invited the chairman of the successor of the Communist Party.

[Misik] Thank you for the interview.

Solidarity Official on Presidency, Union Newspaper

AU0409094290 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 30 Aug 90 p 2

[Jan Kwasowski report: "Lech Kaczynski in Bialystok: Concerning the Presidency, Magdalenka, and a 'Solidarity' Newspaper"]

[Text] Speaking at a meeting with factory commission representatives in Bialystok, Lech Kaczynski, deputy chairman of "Solidarity," said: "I consider entrusting the duties of president to Ryszard Kaczorowski [Polish president in exile], even if only for a transition period, to be an absurd solution."

The new government, formed last year, is fully legitimate and has a mandate to govern. It possesses that legitimacy by virtue of having resolutely struggled against totalitarianism and of enjoying public support.

Lech Kaczynski rejected channeling public energy into taking revenge on the communists. Those whose guilt can be proven, however, should be held accountable.

No decisions were made at Magdalenka [village near Warsaw where summit level meetings between authorities and opposition were held during the 1989 roundtable talks] on erecting a protective umbrella for the nomenklatura, but the Mazowiecki government sometimes gives the impression that it was a party to such an agreement.

In reply to calls for the establishment of a union paper, Kaczynski said there was no agreement on the issue within the union leadership, because the paper would have to adopt a particular political direction in order to gain readers. In addition, no decision has been reached on whether the paper should be created from scratch (which would cost about 10 billion zlotys; a sum that "Solidarity" does not have) or whether an existing national paper should be taken over. A few days ago, said Kaczynski, Andrzej Slowik received authorization from Walesa to create a newspaper in Lodz.

Alliance for Democracy Founder Views Solidarity

AU2908145590 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 25-26 Aug 90 pp 2,3

[Interview with Jerzy Turowicz, editor in chief of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY and founder of the Alliance for Democracy, by Krzysztof Pilawski; place and date not given: "Rivalry Is Inevitable"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Pilawski] How is it that "Solidarity" has so quickly disintegrated into factions that are at conflict with each other? Is this not some sort of quirk of the revolution? The French and Russian revolutions have similar analogies.

[Turowicz] I am not a historian, but analogies are not always accurate. I think it is perfectly natural for divisions to occur during a changeover from totalitarianism to democracy. Personally, however, I think that now that we have started to build a law-governed state and are at the start of this very difficult road, it would be better if "Solidarity" remained a symbol of national unity.

[Pilawski] But things have gone too far and unity is impossible....

[Turowicz] Regaining unity is certainly difficult, but I still hope it is not impossible. [passage omitted]

[Pilawski] Walesa is not your choice for the head of state. If he fails to become president, the question of what to do with him still remains.

[Turowicz] I do not know the answer. I do not deny the fact that Walesa's role is an enormous one. He has gone down in history, and in the future no history book will omit his name. I hope these history books will speak well of him.

[Pilawski] The Center Accord was the first to raise the question whether the presidential election should take place before the parliamentary one. Later, the Citizens Movement-Democratic Action [ROAD] tackled this subject. In July you said that an accelerated presidential election might interfere with the implementation of the reforms, but you seem to have changed your mind.

[Turowicz] I am chiefly in favor of a presidential election by universal ballot. Second, I would prefer the presidential and parliamentary elections to take place next spring, though of course the development of the political situation may move them forward.

[Pilawski] What do you think is the Krakow accord? Some say it is a reaction to the Center Accord, and others say it is an alliance for the protection of democratic values.

[Turowicz] I would say our intention is a positive one, to support the process of reform in an evolutionary manner, with respect for the rules of the law. I would not consider the emergence of the Alliance for Democracy as a direct reaction to the Center Accord, but as a reaction to the political situation and emerging threats.

[Pilawski] The Krakow accord, however, is not isolated in a vacuum. It does have its allies, but also its opponents. Struggle or rivalry, therefore, is inevitable.

[Turowicz] Rivalry is inevitable inasmuch as there are two clear options on how to run the state and how to achieve full democracy.

[Pilawski] But this dispute about methods is also a dispute about whether Poland is to head toward democracy gradually or violently.

[Turowicz] Certainly.

[Pilawski] I think the Center Accord has more supporters. Its slogans addressed to the public at large are clear, and they get through to their addressees. This is confirmed by the reaction of many local citizens committees and "Solidarity" bodies. The Krakow accord, however, mainly consists of intellectuals, members of the intelligentsia.

[Turowicz] I would not be so radical in my judgment. ROAD and the Alliance of the Democratic Right have applied to join the Alliance for Democracy. I think others will do so as well. There are divisions inside the citizens committees and inside "Solidarity," though I cannot gauge the amount of support for both these groups. We are not restricted to intellectuals. After all, the leaders of ROAD are historic "Solidarity" leaders: Bujak and Frasyniuk. [passage omitted]

[Pilawski] There are people who would prefer the Polish political scene to be like the U.S. one. They would like to see a two-party system in Poland, with both of them originating in "Solidarity" and either one party or the other being in power, depending on the election results.

[Turowicz] That is an interesting idea, but it is very difficult to tell what our political scene will look like. Pluralism is active, and we already have about 100 parties, though only a few have any significance. [passage omitted]

[Pilawski] Do you think we will negotiate through all these political sharp bends successfully? What guarantees are there for it?

[Turowicz] I try to be an optimist. I think that in view of all the changes in Poland and this part of Europe over the past year, we have gained the chance to build an independent, sovereign, and democratic Poland, and we will not waste this chance, especially because despite a certain tension on the political scene, I do not yet see anything that could threaten public life with anarchy.

Center Accord Proposes Walesa for President

LD0309223690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] The success of the Center Accord lies in the fact that the plan has failed to create a super-party of a leftist nature in Poland which would take over the achievements of Solidarity, said Senator Jaroslaw Kaczynski, leader of this movement, at a meeting in Poznan. He stressed that the Center Accord is in favor of a personal revolution. The acceleration that is advocated by the Center Accord is against the nomenklature arrangement. We believe, said Senator Kaczynski, that the rampant nomenklatura has its representation in the shape of the SDRP [Social Democracy of the Polish Republic], which has at its disposal huge financial resources, and also in the shape of the OPZZ [National Trade Union Accord] and farmer's circles, representative of which is the president. We, therefore, demand for Wojciech Jaruzelski to step down. We propose Lech Walesa as a presidential candidate, because Poland needs a president who is bold and decisive. Walesa is such a man, said Jaroslaw Kaczynski, the leader of the Center Accord.

National Solidarity Commission Meets in Gdansk

LD0409223190 Warsaw PAP in English 2117 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Gdansk, Sept. 4—To make itself ready for a plenary meeting of the National Commission of Solidarity on Wednesday, the Presidium of the National Commission met here today to get acquainted with the advancement of work on drafts of laws on plants' collective agreements.

The scope of powers and responsibilities in the co-management by the trade union of work enterprises in the period of transition before arriving at market economy was one of controversial issues during the meeting. Majority of the presidium members voiced an opinion that the union should focus on the protection of workers' interests such as negotiating the conditions of the conclusion and termination of labour contracts, as well as pay and welfare conditions.

Members of the presidium discussed also a draft law on returning the property of Solidarity, which had been worked out by a group of deputies from the citizens' parliamentary caucus in cooperation with the union's activists. The bill will concern the property lost by Soldiarity and other social organizations under martial law.

The meeting focussed also on conflicts and tensions within some vocational groups, particualrly among shop assistants due to progressing privatization of shops.

The presidium resolved to work out guidelines for the trade union's authorities taking into accont actions aimed, among other things, at protecting the employment of trade workers and taking over by workers' companies of some of the trade outlets.

In connection with social unrest and protests in dairy cooperatives, the presidium appealed to the ministers of finance and of labour and social policy to take up talks with representatives of the Union of Dairy Cooperatives to solve the conflict.

The presidium of the National Commission of Solidarity appealed to the government to urgently take up pay talks with railway workers. While assessing the state of work on the reform of railways, the Presidium motioned for the prompt introduction of these elements of the reform as to which the sides preparing the draft fully agreed.

Having got acquainted with the deputies draft of the law on the liquidation of workers' gardens, the presidium expressed its firm protest against the suggested solutions.

Envoy in U.S. Explains Solidarity 'Split'

LD0409221890 Warsaw PAP in English 2142 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Washington, Sept 4—During his meeting with newsmen at a press club here today, Poland's ambassador to the United States Kazimierz Dziewanowski said that these Americans, who were surprised of the split within Solidarity, presented a "sentimental attitude" to politics and forgot that it provides for the existence of conflicting programmes.

Dziewanowski added that particularly in the U.S., where electoral campaigns happen to be very sharp, such a situation should be viewed as normal and maybe even as the beginning of the shaping in Poland of a bi- or multi-party system.

Asked whether President Jaruzelski intended to enjoy the invitation from U.S. President George Bush to visit the U.S., the ambassador said that the first preparations had already been made and first talks concerning the date and the programme had been held. "We are in the initial phase. President Bush reiterated his invitation for General Jaruzelski in July and earlier in August," Dziewanowski said.

George Bush paid an official visit to Poland in 1989 and visited Poland in 1987 as vice-president.

Solidarity '80 Leader Views Walesa

LD0209081490 Warsaw PAP in English 1908 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Text] Bydgoszcz, Sept. 1—The GAZETA POMORSKA BYDGOSZCZ daily published today an interview with leader of the Solidarity '80, Marian Jurczyk.

In response to the question about his attitude to a letter of intent by Miodowicz who appealed for unity of trade unions' efforts, Jurczyk said that common discussions were needed when the future of people was at stake to cope with the current plight. "The letter of intent is likely to be a subject to debate by the national commission," he said.

Asked about efforts made with a view to reaching an agreement with Lech Walesa, he said: "We have made such efforts but they brought no results so far. Our organization affiliates 100,000 members and it really exists. If Mr. Walesa will be departing from trade union's roots while struggling for the presidential office, no worker will miss him."

Solidarity-80 Resolution Rejects Economic Policy

LD0109043490 Warsaw PAP in English 2345 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Szczecin, Aug 31—Participants in a gala meeting organized by factory chapter of Solidarity-80 in the Adolf Warski Shipyard in Szczecin to mark the 10th anniversary of signing the August accords in Szczecin, adopted a joint resolution in which they demand rejecting the social and economic policy which causes nationwide, massive and unaccepted unemployment.

We believe, the resolution reads, that with the shortage of basic goods and services all labour reserves should be utilized. This is why we disagree with the government-adopted model of pseudo-reform in advance instituting high unemployment in Poland.

The document regards it a highly urgent issue that the present non-democratic national assembly should give up formulating and approving the new Polish constitution and that the law on trade unions of 1982 should be recognized invalid.

'Solidarity-80' Rally Held in Szczecin

LD3108062290 Warsaw PAP in English 0000 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Szczecin, Aug. 30—A slogan going "36 postulates of August 1980 still not met" guided a meeting held at the Adolf Warski shipyard in Szczecin today to commemorate the events of August 1980 and the birth of "Solidarity" trade union.

The meeting, organized by the shipyards chapter of "Solidarity- 80," attracted the unions activists from all over Poland who came with banners and plackards expressing the determination to carry on a struggle for full materialization of the idea of August 1980, as well as postulates included in the Szczecin accords signed by the strike committee and government delegation.

Leader of "Solidarity-80" Marian Jurczyk, who led the strike in 1980 and was the accords signatory, referred to the events of August that year. He said that all attention must be paid now to the problems brought by the present Polish reality and on the best of their successful solution.

Despite a year-old rule of Mazowiecki and Balcerowicz government, Poland continues to plough through a deep economic crisis. Jurczyk described as deceiving the spreading in Polish society of the assertion that a "Solidarity" government emerged in the form Mazowieckis cabinet.

Other speeches were kept in a similar tone. Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki concluded his address with an appeal for unity of all "Solidarity" trends and for going back to the ideals of August 1980.

Diocesan of the Szczecin-Kamien Diocese, Bishoip Kazimierz Majdanski who celebrated a mass said in his homily that August of Szczecin belongs to the entire nation. Referring to the divisions within "Solidarity" he said:

"We Poles had been divided four times by the partitions of which the last one, that made by Ribbentrop and Molotov, was most cruel. Others were dividing us, now we split ourselves. Let us stop doing so. I ask you for that, as your bishop. Solidarity means unity. Poland needs the word unity, so does the whole Polish coastal area, and so do two big cities situated in the mouths of two great Polish rivers, the Vistula and the Odra," the bishop said.

Walesa Meets With ROLA Founders

*LD0409210990 Waraw PAP in English 1821 GMT
4 Sep 90*

[Text] Gdansk, Sept. 4—The press bureau of the chairman of Solidarity announced that Lech Walesa met with the founders of the ROLA movement of the People's-Agrarian Option [Peasant-Agrarian Option Movement], an alliance for a thrifty, sovereign republic which is headed by Piotr Baumgart.

Lech Walesa, who supports realistic initiatives expanding Poland's political landscape, expressed satisfaction with the establishment of ROLA.

Walesa Sends Message to Silesian Miners

*LD0309194390 Warsaw PAP in English 1810 GMT
3 Sep 90*

[Text] Katowice, Sept. 3—To mark the 10th anniversary of the Jastrzebie agreement, Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa sent today a cable to Silesian miners which read in part as follows:

"Your agreements were the last ones in summer of 1980 during our common struggle for breaking the inhuman system. This was a breakthrough after which it was impossible to return to communism. One should respect those people who decided to hold talks at that time. We believed in the sincere nature of their intentions. We trusted assurances and signatures under historic agreement from Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie. And let those, who after 16 months broke the dialogue, did not keep their word and imposed martial law, make a self-examination before God, history and their own nation."

"Today, 10 years later, one can see what great role this common struggle of ours played in the process of rejecting the communist system also in other East European countries and in the Soviet Union."

"We have done a lot, but too many things are going on too slowly. Too many have lost hope, too many have left us. Let this be a signal for us that we are not always where life is going on—in society," Walesa said.

"The nation expects something new of us, but without our Soldiarity's combatant past. The skills of Solidarity do not consist now in struggle but in learning of government. And that is where we will pass the greatest examination of today."

"Changes in Poland are achieved owing to people who are conscious of a common goal. We can differ, as our life differs, but we must remember all the time that, above all, we are Poles, and only then we are trade unionists, activists or politicians," said the cable.

"We are building a diversified Poland in which there will be a place for everybody. As all of us must complete the August 1980 cause," concluded Walesa.

Council of Ministers Discusses Power Policy

*LD0509045490 Warsaw PAP in English 2205 GMT
4 Sep 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 4—The Council of Ministers headed by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki considered here today ways for ensuring effective power industry policy till 2010.

The Polish power industry is based on coal and lignite due to their rich resources in this country and practical lack of other power-yielding materials.

Power Policy

The following changes in the whole economy will be decisive for a radical reform of the power policy: development of the sphere of services and limitation of highly power-consuming industries, greater share of effective power sources (natural gas, crude oil, water energy), relating between power-yielding materials, wages and prices made similar to those observed in market economies.

In order to reach the average level of high developed countries, provided the above conditions are met, the supply of power will have to be radically increased within the coming 20-25 years.

It will be necessary to drastically raise prices of power-yielding materials to establish a price structure at the average European level.

Possibly prompt decision on the organization of the power industry will constitute another important element in reviving the power economy.

It is also necessary to encourage foreign capital to finance reconstruction and development of power plants.

The processing of crude oil should be increased by at least 5 million tons by 2000, which entails the necessity to build a refinery. Attempts to increase natural gas extraction should also be made.

A radical restructuring process is planned in the mining industry consisting, first of all, in liquidation of some 10 percent of productive sections of colliers with the highest cost of extraction.

The assumptions of Poland's power policy for the years 1990-2010 adopted by the Council of Ministers will be submitted for discussion in the Sejm (lower house).

Nuclear Power Industry

The conclusions adopted by the Council of Ministers on the controversial issue of nuclear power are in a close relation to general assumptions of the power policy for the coming 20 years. In tune with the major conclusion, nuclear power industry should be developed in Poland after 2000 and that only in a limited scope.

It is planned that the power received from that source should not exceed 2,000 mw [megawatts] in 2005, and 6,000 mw in 2010.

Veto for Zarnowiec Power Plant

Considering that the Polish power industry may be developed without nuclear power till 2000, the Council of Ministers voted against the construction of the power plant in Zarnowiec and decided to liquidate it.

The government stated that costs of the completion of the investment would probably exceed construction costs of the conventional plant of equal performance.

The Council of Ministers is to work out an adequate resolution on the issue in the coming days.

Views Economic Forecast, Baltic Meeting

LD0509094290 Warsaw PAP in English 0834 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 5—The Council of Ministers acquainted itself with a forecast prepared by the Central Planning Office (CUP) on the development of the economic situation in Poland in 1990 against the backdrop of results from the first six months of this year.

The forecast says that this year is to remain a difficult one but its crucial importance for the process of economic recovery is very likely.

In response to a question by Premier Mazowiecki on corrections which could be introduced in the second half of the year, participants in the meeting agreed that additional solutions adopted to the governmental programme last July required, because of their anti-recession character, a longer period of consistent application to be able to record their positive results.

Among the positive trends and phenomena which should be maintained till the end of the year, cabinet members mentioned the stablization of the currency exchange rate, growth of exports, curbing of inflation, reduced interests on bank credits and maintaining equilibrium on the market of goods and services.

The Council of Ministers heard a report on the course and results of the Conference of Baltic States to which the Polish delegation was headed by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki. The report was presented by Minister of Environment, Natural Resources and Forestry Bronislaw Kaminski and Secretary of State in the Foreign Affairs Ministry Jerzy Makarczyk.

Profits of Three Coal Mines Reported

AU2808140090 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 23 Aug 90 p 2

["(rs)"-signed report: "The First Zlotys From the Coal Mines"]

[Text] Following the introduction of market prices for coal in July and a 15-percent increase in these prices, three coal mines have begun to profit from selling coal—the prices are higher than the extraction costs. The state budget is still subsidizing the coal extracted by the remaining 67 mines in Poland.

The "Kleofas" mine (formerly called "Gottwald") is earning the greatest amount per tonne of coal—9,598 zlotys [Z]. As late as June, each tonne extracted by this mine had to be subsidized with over Z12,000 from the state budget, and the average subsidy per tonne in the first half of 1990 was Z23,000.

The second coal mine to achieve a profit was "Slask," which earned Z5,739 per tonne. In June, each tonne of coal was subsidized with Z36,500, and the average subsidy in the first half of 1990 was Z51,000.

The third mine to make a profit was "Borynia," achieving a figure of Z2,770. This mine was the only one to achieve profitability as early as June, selling its coal for over Z9,000 per tonne more than the cost of extracting it. Prior to June, every tonne of coal extracted by "Borynia" required a subsidy of over Z21,000.

In June, "Borynia" improved the quality of its coal, and earned an extra Z38.5 billion thanks to increased exports. Between January and June the mine saved Z36 billion on materials, and reduced its workforce by 325 people. Furthermore, between January and June, the average monthly wage in "Borynia" was almost Z1.5 million. No other mine paid its employees so much.

The profits from the sale of coal do not mean that subsidies for these three mines may be discontinued. The profits are not enough to pay dividends and income tax to the state treasury. All three mines did not increase their coal prices until 23 July. Their financial situation ought to improve after the next price increases, which will be checked by the fiscal chamber. We have learned that the Katowice Fiscal Chamber has agreed to a 10 percent increase in the price of coal in July in relation to June prices.

August Economic Performance Figures Reported

AU3108183090 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 29 Aug 90 p 2

["(KGM)"-signed report: "The Economy in August: Still Recession—Labor Does Not Pay"]

[Text] There are no signs of economic development. The results of the poll (Central Planning Office questionnaires sent in by 136 participating enterprises) show that the level of sales in the first half of August 1990 is similar to the results for the first half of July. Some 20 percent of the participating enterprises report increased sales, whereas 51 percent report a decrease in sales. Overall prospects seem to be more optimistic, however, because 42 percent of the enterprises are predicting increased sales and only seven percent are predicting a decrease. Despite problems with sales, only eight percent of the enterprises lowered their prices.

Demand for cash and turnover credit has remained at its previous level. Some 30 percent of the enterprises have reported an increase in their indebtedness. This is a result of the availability of cheaper credit, at least in absolute terms. In 57 percent of the enterprises, the dividend will not exceed 10 percent of the profits; whereas in eight percent of the enterprises it is expected to swallow up at least 50 percent of the profit.

All enterprises report difficulties with sales. The greatest are in the textile sector, although the situation in the dairy cooperative sector is also grave. Demand for nitrogen-based fertilizers has fallen and there has also been a fall in petroleum refining.

Exports continue to increase, including exports to the ruble payment area. The fall in import supplies has now leveled off.

In the private sector in the Poznan voivodship, some half of the workshops are standing idle, and fiscal revenue from this sector is substantially lower than originally anticipated. Economic activity in this sector is dominated by artisan and handicraft enterprises.

By 15 August, there were some 767,000 people registered as unemployed. The fastest rise in unemployment has been in the Lodz voivodship. Public works are being organized, but the unemployed are either not very keen to join or leave after a short time. The reason is simple, the unemployment welfare payments are not much lower than the pay for the work itself.

Good 1990 Grain Harvest Reported

AU3108190590 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 29 Aug 90 p 2

["(B.C.)"-signed report: "The Harvest Almost Finished—Grain Elevators Already Full"]

[Text] Sales of approved seed grain, rape seed, and winter barley seed have already begun. This can only mean one thing: This year's harvest is almost over.

Only some five percent of the grain still needs to be gathered. This is in the regions where the harvest is normally late—namely, in the uplands, the north, and the northeast. Gathering the 1990 harvest in took a little longer than expected. This was largely due to the changeable weather, but also to the high cost of hiring large combine-harvesters. Farmers, deterred by the expense, reverted to more traditional methods such as small reapers, sheaf-binders, and even scythes.

The grain yield per hectare has been average this year (some 120 kilograms less per hectare), but because more acreage was sown, we will only have a shortfall of some 400,000 tonnes compared with last year. Most grain elevators are already full, and some 2,974,000 tonnes of grain (239,000 tonnes more compared with the same time last year) have been procured. Deliveries are continuing without any problems. This is due to the relocation of the state's grain reserves from state grain elevators to private storage facilities and rural township cooperative elevators. It is expected that the Free Market Agency will start to intervene within the next few days.

Until now, the grain market has been controlled by a ministerial team subordinate to Deputy Minister Antosiak. This team also supervises procurement of sugar beet and potatoes. The harvest of sugar beet and potatoes is predicted at some 34 million tonnes and it is already known that it will be up to the farmers themselves to store these products.

There is said to be little possibility of exporting these products, and our home processing industry capacity is still very limited. Thus, the good potato harvest will be good news for those who have young hogs and cattle, because, contrary to all calculations of effectiveness, we continue to feed these animals on potatoes and coarse flour meal. No changes are expected here for the immediate future.

Various animal feeds are too expensive to be of much interest to farmers, and suppliers of cattle grain feed are unable to sell their products. Bacutil has limited its purchases of grain because it does not think there will be much call for its expensive animal feeds. Some state farm enterprises are faced with the same situation.

Money difficulties, which many farmers are currently experiencing, is the main factor behind the lower purchases of approved seed grains. Even though it is well known that this seed grain gives proven high yields, and despite the attractive price reductions, the interest in this type of seed grain is likely to remain depressed compared with past years.

Government Asked To Adhere to Grain Price Accord

LD3109224890 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Contract prices have been reduced, while quality norms have been raised. Some procurement points are not accepting grain; this is what members of the highest authority of Private Farmers Solidarity think. They have asked the government to adhere to the undertakings adopted on this matter. The interest of farmers from the Lublin area in the interventionist procurement of grain is not very great. This is because of the prices, which are lower than those offered earlier by the State Grain Enterprise. The regional agency of the agricultural market in Lublin, which operates in eight voivodships in southeast Poland, has accepted a declaration to purchase 120,000 tonnes of grain. There are stores which are not being used, and whose existence has been made known above all by parish cooperatives, as well as private firms and individuals.

Planning Office Reports Unemployment Indicators

AU0509095290 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA Economy and Law Section in Polish 30 Aug 90 p 1

["J.T."-signed report: "The Labor Market—Warning Lights From CUP"]

[Text] Unemployment is a feature of a free market economy. It is an inseparable element which accompanies constant change and improvement in production. It is known that unemployment will rise according to the process of economic restructuring. Its levels will be different in different regions and dependent on many factors. The Central Planning Office [CUP] has compiled a set of unemployment indicators based on an analysis of the situation in the labor market and the industrial sector. Below we are summarizing the most important warning signals that ought to be taken into account when planning protective intervention measures or when taking economically strategic decisions.

It has become apparent that the regions that are suffering most from disruptions in the labor market are the Suwalki, Lomza, Ciechanow, Plock, and Olsztyn voivodships throughout their whole territory. The Torun, Wloclawek, and Konin voivodships suffer from it in very large areas. Despite the relatively low levels of unemployment in these voivodships, people who have become unemployed are unable to find any other work in most of these voivodships, because the labor market is very poorly developed.

The fastest rises in unemployment have been recorded in the regions that are heavily industrialized or which neighbor large cities. This is the situation in the Katowice, Bielsko, Jelenia Gora, Legnica, Krakow, Skierniewice, Tarnobrzeg, and Rzeszow voivodships, as well as the southwestern regions of the Warsaw voivodship and large parts of the Ciechanow, Ostroleka, and Siedlce voivodships.

It is possible that group dismissals will substantially boost the rate of unemployment. Already some 80,000 people have lost their jobs as a result of group dismissals. The highest incidence of group dismissals has been reported from the Warsaw, Katowice, Lodz, Lublin, and Bydgoszcz voivodships. Another 8,000 enterprises have indicated that they anticipate group dismissals within the next two or three months, and some 326,000 people are expected to lose their jobs as a result. The most, some 26,000 dismissals, will be in the Katowice voivodship, and some 12,000 dismissals are expected in each of the Kielce, Gdansk, and Wroclaw voivodships.

The number of people of productive age is expected to increase by some 655,000 within the next five years and this may lead to serious labor market difficulties in the Legnica, Olsztyn, and Bydgoszcz voivodships. Due to the very high rate of increase in the population of people of the most productive age in the Gdansk, Poznan, and Katowice voivodships, the tempo of unemployment in these cities is expected to be more rapid and the effects more acute.

CUP indicates that unemployment levels in the near- and the longer-term might be influenced by factors such as the presence of primary industries in a particular region, the presence of traditional market industries (food processing, light industry), the consumption rate of fixed assets, and the degree of concentration and monopolization of production. At present, an important indicator is exports to the countries of the first payment area and the general economic situation of enterprises. A particular danger that could produce high unemployment might come from the excessive reliance on and the dominance of specific raw material products, for example, in the Katowice voivodship, and the high concentrations of one or two production sectors in the Krakow, Czestochowa, and Walbrzych voivodships that result from the preponderance of coal mining and steel production industry sectors.

The traditional market industries are dominant in the following voivodships; Lomza, Skierniewice, Lodz, Zamosc, Suwalki, Biala-Podlaska, Sieradz, and Siedlce. These, however, are the industrial sectors that are hardest hit by the current effects of stagnating demand and the government's anti-inflationary policy.

An important indicator in evaluating the risk of recessionary danger is the level of exports to the first payment area. The present dangers might become permanent features. Polish suppliers to the markets of the first payment area must ensure that their products remain attractive in order to retain their export outlets.

There is another warning signal—namely, the hidden unemployment in the socialized industry sector. The fall in industrial production remains much higher than the fall in employment levels.

If we cannot break out of the recessionary spiral, we have to face the prospect that some 700,000 to 900,000 people will lose their jobs.

Gasoline, Diesel Price Hikes Reported

AU0509125890 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 1-2 Sep 90 p 2

[K. Szczesniak report: "CPN Communique—New Gasoline Prices"]

[Text] Yesterday's dark rumors were clarified in today's official communique issued by the Petroleum Products Center [CPN]. Beginning on 1 September 1990, new prices of gasoline and fuel products will be as follows:

— Lead-free gasoline (so-called 'Bona'), now costs 4,000 zlotys [Z] per liter;
— Gasoline (94 octane), now costs Z3,200 per liter;
— Gasoline (86 octane), now costs Z3,000 per liter;
— Gasoline (78 octane), now costs Z2,800 per liter;
— Diesel now costs Z2,200 per liter.

Regarding 98 octane gasoline, it has been decided that its minimum price will be Z3,500 per liter, but this will only apply to CPN. Private importers can import gasoline from the West and sell it (even in gasoline stations belonging to the CPN), at a lower price, if they can afford it.

During a news conference, the Acting Deputy Head of CPN, Andrzej Galczynski, attempted to justify the price hikes. In general, they reflect the world market situation and the decision of Ciech-Petrolimpex to increase its sale price of crude oil to the refineries from Z600,000 to Z1.1 million per tonne. The price of gasoline has not risen so steeply, only increasing by 15 to 30 percent. How is this possible?

The Ministry of Finance has decided to keep turnover tax at the same level as before, thus in real percentage terms the tax has decreased. Additionally, the producers and the CPN's profits will be lower. Despite these factors, it was agreed that the fight with inflation is more important than any one-time gains and this explains the price range for these products. This is more marked in the price of diesel, which, compared with gasoline, is now cheaper in real terms.

This disparity is one manifestation of the concern to limit inflationary pressure. It is a fact that the price of diesel, which is used in agriculture and throughout the whole transport system, is more inflation-generating than gasoline, which is mainly used by the private automobile sector.

The present gasoline reserves stand at 58,000 tonnes and this ought to be sufficient for another ten days supply, even assuming increased buying pressure. The tax element in the price of every liter of gasoline is now some Z750.

Center Accord To Launch New Weekly in Sep

AU0309093990 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 30 Aug 90 p 2

["(K.G.)"-signed report: "TELEGRAF Launch Imminent"]

[Text] The first issue of TELEGRAF, a new weekly of the Center Accord, will appear sometime at the beginning of September 1990. The paper will have 12 pages, it will cost 1,000 zlotys [Z], and have an initial print run of some 50,000 copies.

The current publisher is to be the "Wola" Foundation. Very shortly, however, it is intended to form a limited company whose shareholders—apart from the "Wola" Foundation—will be the "Solidarity" Press Foundation, and the Center Accord's regional bureaus. The publisher has estimated that the monthly cost will be in the region of Z100 million and is prepared for this level of expenditure.

The editorial team has not been finalized, but it is known that Maciej Zalewski is to be editor in chief. He is currently the Center Accord's organizing secretary and deputy editor of TYGODNIK "SOLIDARNOSC."

The Center Accord has already made known its desire to take over Warsaw's afternoon daily EXPRESS WIECZORNY.

Increasing Opposition to Iliescu Regime Noted

AU0509110290 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 2 Sep 90 p 1

[Lucian Tudorancea article: "With a Smile on the Lips"]

[Text] Lies are told with presidential smiles and in a rosy paternal atmosphere in this country, which had to endured for so long because of the curse of totalitarism. The moral and political disintegration of Romanian society starts from its summit. The uproar that is almost registered daily in the street is an expression of the structural crisis of the power that has become an obstacle in the path of radical changes, because they—the changes—would lead to its elimination. The stability of the neocommunist power is maintained with the price of our whole society's instability and with the sine die postponement of the invoice.

Any attempt to dispute the political power knocks against the wall of lack of understanding and neostalinist dogmatism. The warm look of the "democratically elected" president ossifies all attempts to get out of this labyrinth of nationalized lies. And his smile calls for "general consensus"—that is, for accepting the evil masked by the National Salvation Front.

Through presidential procedure, which mostly means new and cheap tricks, we, Comrade Iliescu's opposers, have become law breakers overnight, irresponsible elements, hooligans, Iron Guard members, and fascists. We believe, however, that all this means too many sins for just one wish: to eliminate the aftereffects of communism from Romanian political structures.

The police and Securitate placed themselves in the service of their savior: Ion Iliescu. To be more exact, they act against the people who redeemed [them] in the 12th hour, and who now are disowning their 20 May votes. These bodies of the "original democracy" should not forget that no dictatorship can last forever and that its elimination imperatively requires THE CALLING TO ACCOUNT OF ALL THOSE WHO SERVED THAT DICTATORSHIP [capitalization as published]. It is an illusion to believe that the current neocommunist regime will have a long life and that it can hide from the people's fair trial. Because now, at the end of August, the spirits have woken up and, in wonderful solidarity, they are making the true enemies of the Romanian democracy be aware of them. The diversionary actions start losing their effect concomitantly with the worsening of the country's economic situation. The nostalgia of the Ceausescu past, embodied in the hideous slogan: "Ceausescu-RCP [Romanian Communist Party]. Save us from the FSN [National Salvation Front]!" marks this period of total failure.

The moment of the social explosion is approaching rapidly. The attitude of the Iliescu regime is visible: the offensive of an endangered dictatorship.

It would not surprise us if Ion Iliescu qualified this nation—which is more and more hostile to his dictatorship—as an Iron Guardist nation!

Please smile! This is the last grimace of communism!

Brucan on Role of Army, Securitate in Revolution

AU0409120490 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Report on interview with Silvio Brucan, member of the National Salvation Front, by Brigitte Fuchs in Vienna on 4 September—recorded; Brucan in English with superimposed translation into German]

[Text] There have been rumors and speculation for a long time about the role of the Army in the December revolution in Romania. Some days ago, Silvio Brucan, who was a dissident under Ceausescu for a long time and has been the eminence grise of the new rulers in Bucharest since the revolution, made the headlines. In an interview with the Romanian newpaper ADEVARUL, which means truth, Brucan talked of a conspiracy causing Ceausescu's downfall.

Brucan told ORF today:

[Begin Brucan recording] The decisive factor was the popular revolt, but, in addition to that, one must take into account the fact that the revolt was largely inspired by the dissidents and was only successful because of the conspiracy in the Army. This resulted in a situation in 1989 when about 20 generals were against the regime and facilitated the success of the revolution. When these generals took over the Defense Ministry and the army commands, the Army not only ceased to shoot at the crowd, but it also joined the revolution. And I think that this avoided a bloodbath in Romania. [end recording]

He has only spoken out about this now, Brucan said, because the Army was a stabilizing factor in Romania in the first months after the revolution. It would not have been right to tell the people that the Army actually shot at demonstrators in Timisoara, Cluj, Sibiu, and Bucharest.

According to Silvio Brucan, part of the Securitate knew about the conspiracy plans and participated in the plot against Ceausescu. For reasons of Romania's internal stability, it was not possible to report this earlier, he said. By the way, according to Brucan, most of the Securitate members who were loyal to Ceausescu fled to Western countries or are at large in Romania.

Romanian President Ion Iliescu has denied Brucan's disclosures. Brucan commented on this today:

[Begin Brucan recording] President Iliescu would be well advised to forget about his past, which does not constitute his strength. Rather, he should concentrate on Romania's political situation today. He has proved his qualities of statesmanship, especially in the way in which he presided over the provisional Parliament. But he should not interfere in a discussion in which he is not competent because he did not participate in the dissidents' activities. He lacks the necessary information to talk about it. That is why he does not know what he is talking about. [end recording]

Meanwhile, the Office of the Chief State Prosecutor in Bucharest has shown interest in Silvio Brucan's disclosures.

UDMR's Szocs on 'Award' Anniversary Tension

AU0109194490 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 29 Aug 90 pp 1,2

[Report on interview with Geza Szocs, general secretary of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania (UDMR) and deputy in the Romanian Parliament, by Lovas; place and date not given: "Geza Szocs on 30 August—There Will Be No Serious Atrocities!"]

[Text] Rumors, and even alarming news, are circulating in connection with the expected Romanian events on the 50th anniversary of the second Vienna award on 30 August. What can one really expect? Is there any real basis for the Romanian claim and the large-scale remembrance of the "victims?" We asked Geza Szocs these questions.

[Szocs] There were previous fears about 15 August and 23 August. I did not believe in them either. Nothing happened on these days. These alarming rumors should be treated carefully.

[Lovas] Does this also apply to 30 August?

[Szocs] There will not be a bloody confrontation of the type that occurred in Marosvasarhely [Tirgu Mures]. Some people will probably be harassed, including local inhabitants. Tourists from Hungary will also be pestered, people who have a much less routine dealing with the Romanian population here. Mass demonstrations are planned all over the country to commemorate the victims of the early 1940's. These events will not necessarily turn into aggression and they do not necessarily aim at burning buildings down, destroying headquarters, or lynching people. I think the Romanian authorities learned the lessons of March. They had to do so.

[Lovas] I might seem ignorant, but could you tell us what victims they are talking about?

[Szocs] Following the Vienna decision, the Hungarian military administration, which occupied northern Transylvania, clashed with the Romanian civilian population in some places. Shots were fired in some villages and a few dozen people died. Statistics are extremely contradictory. Naturally, the question is whom we count as victims? For example, less than two dozen military deserters were executed in Mozesfalva [Romanian name unknown]; they are now regarded as innocent Romanian martyrs, while the laws of war everywhere stipulate that deserters must be executed.

[Lovas] They were Romanians drafted in the Hungarian Army?

[Szocs] Yes, they were drafted into labor service. In addition, they also mixed the whole affair with the Jews deported from Transylvania to Hungary. We are talking here about a large number of victims, but I must add—although it will not save us from responsibility—that about the same number of Jews fell victim to the atrocities of the incited masses in Romania, which was not occupied by the Germans at the time. Naturally, I do not want to make some kind of balance out of these things, but I would like to point out that if the organizers of these commemoration events really felt some pain about the fate of the Jewish victims, they would organize similar commemorations for the Jews who fell victim to the Romanian pogroms. This could show that the organizers real aim is to remember the victims and not incite the people.

[Lovas] One can, however, draw the conclusion that there were victims in northern Transylvania at the time.

[Szocs] We must also discover the white and black spots of our joint history. Thus, we must also face the fact that civilian Romanian peasants fell victims to Hungarian Army fire in the village of Ipp [Ip]. One should also consider the number of Hungarian inhabitants murdered by Romanians in the villages of Szarazajta [Aita Seaca], Gyanta [Ginta], Szekeres [Romanian name unknown], and elsewhere. This is not some kind of balance. The reason we must deal with this is that they now want to use some past events for unilateral and cheap incitement.

[Lovas] The Hungarian press also published commentaries about this affair. Must one, can one keep silent in such cases?

[Szocs] We are dealing here with two extremely uninformed—or rather misinformed—communities of people. These two nations hardly have real historical knowledge after 40-50 years of constant brainwashing. Romanians claim that Hungarians asked for the Vienna award, and the Hungarians claim that this was requested by the Romanians. We know very little about the background of those years. Both communities of people are extremely irritated and the use of some words and expressions elicits an immediate hysterical reaction.

USSR's Shevardnadze Sends Gulf Crisis Message

LD0409182190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1432 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Sep (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, has received a message from Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs. The message contains Soviet views on the course which the Gulf crisis, caused by the Iraqi invasion and annexation of Kuwait, is taking.

The message pays tribute to efforts made by Yugoslavia in its role as chairman of the Nonaligned Movement to initiate together with other international factors resolute actions for securing peace and the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Kuwait.

The message stresses that the situation in the Gulf has assumed threatening and dangerous character. Under such circumstances the Soviet Union supports the view that armed conflict should be prevented and that the situation should be resolved peacefully through collective efforts within the UN framework and by engaging all other international and regional forces.

The Soviet minister especially emphasized that under these conditions, efforts made by the Nonaligned Movement have peacemaking potential and are becoming exceptionally important.

Continued Reportage on Visit by Romania's Iliescu

Economic Ties Discussed With Markovic

LD0409141190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1202 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Sep (TANJUG)—In their talks in Belgrade today Romania's President Ion Iliescu and the Federal Executive Council President, Ante Markovic, demonstrated harmony and closeness in their attitudes toward important international issues and emphasized the need for regional cooperation in the Balkans as part of the predominant process in Europe and the world.

In his brief statement to journalists President Iliescu expressed a great deal of satisfaction at his exchange of opinions with the Yugoslav Prime Minister, regrarding these talks as well as his visit to Yugoslavia as the opening of a new stage in relations between the two friendly neighboring countries. He said that Yugoslavia's experience so far in developing the market economy and the processes of society's democratization was of great value for Romania—these are the objectives Romania has been aspiring to since the December events and its elections in May of this year.

In the course of two-hour talks President Iliescu and Prime Minister Markovic paid special attention to the developments of economic cooperation under the new circumstances emerging in both countries.

According to Markovic's words, the talks were exceptionally open, comprehensive, and friendly. It was mutually stressed that the changes in both countries were providing new opportunities for cooperation which were going to reflect the real needs and potentials of the two economies. It was concluded that joint action should be taken to improve the exploitation of the, hitherto underexploited, Romanian iron and steel and petrochemical industry.

The two partners stated that, despite their mutual interests and agreements on economic cooperation, there had thus far been no effective mechanisms to realize these agreements. The relevant ministries were charged with the task of researching this problem and of creating the necessary mechanisms to improve economic cooperation.

'New Stage' in Relations Heralded

AU0409162190 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Borisav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Romanian President Ion Iliescu will conclude Yugoslav-Romanian talks this evening. In the morning, the prominent guest from Romania had talks with Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC]. President of the Serbian Presidency, Slobodan Milosevic has also had talks with Ion Iliescu. Dragan Petrovic reports on the second day of the visit Romanian President Ion Iliescu is paying to our country:

[Petrovic] Romanian President Ion Iliescu and FEC President Ante Markovic talked for more than two and a half hours this morning in a very open [otvoren], friendly, and constructive atmosphere about furthering economic and other kinds of bilateral cooperation.

In a brief statement to the press, President Iliescu expressed great satisfaction with the talks he had with the Yugoslav prime minister, assessing that his visit to Yugoslavia had opened a new stage in the relations between the two neighboring and friendly countries. Iliescu said that the experience Yugoslavia had had to date in developing market economy and with processes of the democratization of society are precious to Romania.

According to FEC President Ante Markovic, the talks were extremely open, substantial, and friendly. Both sides pointed out that changes in Romania and Yugoslavia are opening new possibilities for cooperation. It was concluded that one should jointly begin a better exploitation of the capacities of the Romanian iron and steel industry and oil processing industry, which had so far been insufficiently exploited. Iron and steel industry, non-ferrous industry, energetics, agriculture, oil processing industry, and border cooperation were singled out as spheres of long-term economic cooperation between the two countries.

During their talks in Belgrade today, Romanian President Ion Iliescu and FEC President Ante Markovic expressed identical and close views of the two countries concerning the most important international issues and stressed the need to develop regional Balkan cooperation as a part of the general process in Europe and the world.

After the talks he had with the FEC president, the prominent guest from Romania visited the Presidency of Serbia where he had talks with Presidency President Slobodan Milosevic for more than two hours. Main topics of the talks at the Serbian Presidency were the position of the Serbian national minority in Romania and the economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and Romania including Serbia in particular.

The Romanian side expressed readiness to approach the issue of furthering the position of the Serbian national minority in a qualitatively new way and informed the other side about what had been done in that respect since the December events.

Our side acknowledged the efforts the new Romanian authorities had made with a view to essentially improving the position of our national minority in Romania, but also pointed out that the process involved is long and that time will be needed to correct what has been done or has not been done in the past.

During the talks between Serbian Presidency President Slobodan Milosevic and Romanian President Iliescu, the two sides also touched upon economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and Romania in which Serbia's participation amounts to more than one half. The two sides asserted that there are prospects, opportunities, and mutual interests in the economic cooperation between Yugoslavia—including Serbia—and Romania.

After the talks in the Serbian Presidency, Presidency President Slobodan Milosevic hosted a formal luncheon for the prominent guest from Romania.

As we have already said, Borisav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Romanian President Ion Iliescu will hold final Yugoslav-Romanian talks in the Dedinje Palace this evening.

The prominent guest from Romania has been presented the Belgrade golden memorial plaque. In the morning, Ion Iliescu planted a tree in the Park of Friendship in New Belgrade.

Separate talks between the Yugoslav and Romanian foreign ministers were also held this morning. Budimir Loncar and Adrian Nastase asserted that Yugoslavia and Romania hold the same views about the need to compensate the damage many countries suffer because of the economic blockade of Iraq. Belgrade and Bucharest had reacted to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in the same way—they had condemned Baghdad and had expressed full support for the Security Council resolutions.

In the working and open atmosphere, the two sides primarily discussed multilateral questions. The central issue were relations in the Balkans and particularly the preparations for the second regional meeting of foreign ministers planned to be held in Tirana at the end of October.

Concerning the problem of minorities, it was said that one should establish a code of standards that would set up minimum rights and obligations as a starting point under which one should not go. This minimum, Loncar and Nastase said, cannot be lower than the level agreed to by the CSCE.

Meets With Serbia's Milosevic

LD0509090890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1617 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Sep (TANJUG)—Serbian Presidency President Slobodan Milosevic had talks today with Romanian President Ion Iliescu who is paying an official visit to our country. Their lengthy and open talks which, in addition to members of a delegation accompanying the Romanian president during his visit to Yugoslavia, were also attended by Dr. Stanko Radmilovic, Aleksandar Bakocevic, Dr. Aleksandar Prlja, and Milenko Lukin, chairman of the Democratic Alliance of Serbs in Romania [Demokratski savez Srba u Rumuniji], focused on the implementation of cooperation between Serbia and Romania in the framework of overall Yugoslav-Romanian relations.

They paid special attention to the status of the Serbian national minority in Romania, as well as to possibilities and needs for improving their status and rights.

Democratic changes in Romania opened up possibilities for essential changes in status and rights of the Serbian national minority and conditions for preserving national identity and cherishing cultural traditions of Serbs in Romania. In this context, Serbia expects that preservation and renovation of Serbian cultural monuments in Romania will be carried out in the future, as well as successful development of education, foundation of libraries and other cultural institutions of our minority in its mother tongue.

The chairman of the Democratic Alliance of Serbs in Romania underlined special importance of a decision of the Republic of Serbia to offer scholarships for the Serbian minority in Romania, for their education in secondary schools and at universities in Serbia. It was also stressed that the financial situation of a literary magazine published in Serbo-Croatian in Timisoara will be improved as well as Timisoara Radio in Serbo-Croatian.

It was stressed during the talks that both sides have an emphasized interest in further development of economic cooperation. This is also indicated by the fact that approximately 55 percent of overall transactions between Yugoslavia and Romania are carried out by enterprises from Serbia. It was also stressed that development of economic cooperation should be considerably improved by some higher forms of cooperation such as manufacturing cooperation, specialization, and long-term export-import transactions.

The hosts and their guests assessed that it is necessary to use the given opportunities more effectively to reinforce local cross-border trade, which until now has not been developed in accordance with interests and needs of the two countries. Economic ties between the border-zone regions are of a particular importance, which should influence more rapid economic and overall progress.

They also examined other questions in connection with broadening cooperation between Serbia and Romania, particularly the use of the Danube, and also implementation of started initiatives and estalished agreements in connection with economic, scientific, ecological, and cultural cooperation between countries in the Danube region.

The hosts and their guests also discussed the resolution of unregulated property and legal questions based on shared ownership, nationalization of property belonging to our national minority who emigrated to Yugoslavia after the resolution of the Information Bureau of the Cominform, and mutual financial claims.

Situation of Serb Minority Viewed

LD0409205990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1743 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Sep (TANJUG)—Serbian Presidency president Slobodan Milosevic met with Romanian President Ion Iliescu in Belgrade today. They discussed the position of the Serbian national minority in Romania and prospects for improving its position and rights.

The democratic changes in Romania have paved the (?way for major) changes regarding the position and rights of the Serbian national minority, as well as conditions for preserving the national identity and nurturing of cultural traditions of Serbs in Romania.

Serbia expects that cultural monuments of Serbs in Romania will be protected and restored in future and that education will develop successfully, [word indistinct] that there be libraries and other cultural institutions in the languages of the Yugoslav national minorities.

Both sides said they were interested in further developing economic cooperation, which is corroborated by the fact that Serbian firms account for 55 percent of overall Yugoslav-Romanian trade.

Meets Jovic; Will Visit Croatia

LD0509091490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1921 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Sep (TANJUG)—In Belgrade this evening, President of the SFRY Presidency Borisav Jovic and Romanian President Ion Iliescu ended their exchange of views on bilateral and international issues in the framework of the Romanian president's three-day official and friendly visit to Yugoslavia. Both sides assessed that the visit was very useful and the talks open and wide-ranging.

The concluding round of talks between the two presidents focused on the results of negotiations between ministers and an agreement on implementation of the conclusions reached. Talks between Federal Secretary for Foreign Relations Budimir Loncar and Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Nastase, which were held today, were also assessed as wide-ranging, particularly because of concrete proposals for further cooperation between the two countries on the international scene and in the region.

The two presidents assessed economic cooperation as one of the most important spheres of further development of relations under the new conditions in both countries. It was stressed that the exchange of views between Stevan Santo, federal secretary for energy and industry, and Mihai Zisu, Romanian minister of resources and industry, abounded in new proposals for broadening and deepening economic cooperation and that this will mark a new period in the development of relations between the two countries in this field.

Romanian President Iliescu is leaving tomorrow morning for Croatia where he will have talks with President Franjo Tudjman. Tomorrow afternoon Ion Iliescu ends his visit to Yugoslavia.

Loncar, Romania's Nastase Discuss Regional Issues

LD0409192990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1202 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Sep (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and Romania agree on the need to compensate many countries for losses incurred during the economic blockade of Iraq.

Belgrade and Bucharest reacted to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in the same way—by comdemning Baghdad and supporting the UN Security Council resolution, currently presided over by Romania.

This was said during today's two-hour talks between Federal Foreign Affairs Secretary Budimir Loncar and Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase.

Multilateral issues were discussed in an open and busy atmosphere, while relations in the Balkans were the central issue, Particularly preparations for the second regional meeting of the heads of diplomacy, scheduled for Tirana in late October. The scheduled date affords the Balkan countries the opportunity to present their own modern program and views on the integration of Europe at the Paris meeting of the CSCE in November, Loncar and Nastase assessed.

The meeting in Tirana will be preceded by a preparatory meeting in Bucharest of officials of the Balkan ministeries for foreign affairs at the level of deputy ministers in September while the ministers will also meet in the course of the UN General Assembly session.

Some new initiatives to institutionalize cooperation in the Balkans were also discussed. Romania proposes that the Balkan countries develop their own activities in the areas covered by the CSCE and carry out the CSCE agreements at the regional Balkan level.

To this end, Bucharest proposes, a regional forum should be set up to deal with certain specified areas—the economy, defense cooperation, and those relating to the status of ethnic minorities.

As for the problem of ethnic minorities, a set of standards should be established as the starting point, one which would secure a minimum of rights and obligations so no one should come up with less. This minimum, it was said, cannot be below the standards agreed on at the CSCE.

The two ministers also considered other forms of regional cooperation, particularly in the Danube area. Romania expressed the wish to take part, as an observer, in sessions of the pentagonal group (Italy, Austria, the Czech and Slovak Federation, Hungary, and Yugoslavia). On the other hand, as it has been learned, Italy and Hungary have expressed their interest in being present at the meeting of Balkan ministers in Tirana.

It was also said that Romania, the USSR, Turkey, and Bulgaria, as the countries surrounding the Black Sea, are expected to set up a regional group.

All this, Loncar and Nastase assessed, testifies to the new spirit of cooperation in Europe, and not only in the framework of the CSCE. Both Yugoslavia and Romania want to be instrumental parts as much as possible of this development.

Loncar and Nastase talked about the need to further promote human rights in the Balkans, particularly the freedom of communication and travel. The need was underlined to abolish visas between the Balkans countries and in the meantime, until this is achieved, a proclamation in favor of doing away with visas will be necessary.

Loncar informed his guest about the activities of the Nonaligned Movement and its efforts to adjust itself to world trends. He spoke particularly of the activities of Yugoslavia, which is the presiding member at the moment, as well as about the measures taken by the movement and those planned to be taken in order to facilitate a peaceful solution to the Gulf crisis.

FRG's Genscher Arrives for 'Short Working Visit'

LD3108204690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1843 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Aug (TANJUG)—FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher arrived in Belgrade this evening on a short working visit to Yugoslavia.

Genscher will consider bilateral relations and international questions with Federal Foreign Affairs Secretary Budimir Loncar. The inflammable situation in the Persian Gulf intensifies the topicality of this German-Yugoslav high-level meeting.

More Economic Cooperation 'Promised'

LD0109123990 Hamburg DPA in German 1049 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade/Bonn (DPA)—[West German] Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (Free Democratic Party) has promised his Yugoslav interlocutors in Belgrade more economic cooperation. Genscher was thus trying to dispel Yugoslav fears that German unification would bring economic disadvantages. The Foreign Ministry in Bonn announced today that apart from economic issues, Genscher discussed the situation in the Gulf, in particular, with his Yugoslav colleague Budimir Loncar yesterday and today. Genscher was assured that Yugoslavia resolutely supports the demands of the UN Security Council.

Effects of Iraqi Embargo Discussed

LD0109125290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1131 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Sep (TANJUG)—The European perspective is the best way of resolving all the problems on the continent, including those in Yugoslavia, and it would therefore be a mistake to block the path for your country, West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher stated in Belgrade today.

At a joint news conference with Federal Secretary Budimir Loncar at the conclusion of his short working visit, Genscher recalled that Bonn has always supported Yugoslavia moving closer to the EC.

Loncar, clearly pleased with the talks, said Genscher is here "to understand and support us, but also to commit to us." In this connection the two ministers let it be clearly known that they meant the consistent implementation of the process already begun of democratization, market orientation, and observance of human rights.

In this connection, Genscher said discussions on everything, including Kosovo, had been completely open. He stressed that solutions to interethnic problems can also be sought only in the process of democratization. He stated that democratization provides the answers to all issues in Europe, and that it also means the respect of the rights of all minorities.

Genscher announced that Kosovo will be a topic on the agenda of next week's session of the Bundestag Foreign Policy Committee in Bonn, but he did not elaborate on this.

Loncar, however, stressed that in this context in the talks there had been no idea of some kind of isolation of Yugoslavia. The talks were, on the contrary, directed toward cooperation and its expansion, naturally in accordance with the Helsinki Charter.

In the course of these talks particular importance was attached to the CSCE in general. Genscher especially stressed that the forthcoming CSCE, which will be held in Paris in mid-November, is of paramount importance, because it rallies all European integrations, and is held, as regards turbulent events on the continent, at a very significant time.

In connection with German unification, Genscher said consequences which Yugoslavia may sustain have also been discussed, especially those which arise from the creation of a monetary and social union of the two German states. He announced "further talks" on the decrease of consequences to be sustained by Yugoslavia, that is, its economy.

According to Genscher, the two sides expressed the same stands in connection with their evaluations and assessments of the international situation.

As regards the Gulf crisis, Genscher particularly stressed that it is now obvious how important it is that Yugoslavia, as a "large European country" and a member of the Nonaligned Movement, condemn the Iraqi aggression on Kuwait. Nobody should be awarded for aggression, Genscher said, adding that in this respect the role of the Nonaligned countries is great.

Replying to a direct question from journalists whether the Movement is preparing new action in the Gulf, Loncar gave a positive answer, but he refrained from revealing any details. He only said that Genscher encouraged that action.

Genscher also said all countries are sustaining losses because of the Iraqi aggression on Kuwait, but different countries endure these losses in different ways. Recalling that the UN Charter envisages compensation in such cases, he expressed his conviction that Yugoslavia will be among the compensated states.

The German foreign minister expressed his condolences over the tragedy at the Kreka mine and gave 15,000 Deutsche marks to help the children of the dead miners.

Today, Genscher returned to Bonn.

Macedonians Protest to Greek Foreign Minister

LD0309175790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1626 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Skopje, 3 Sep (TANJUG)—The Party of Yugoslavs in Macedonia sent a protest letter to Greek Foreign Minister Antonis Samaras over his statement denying the Macedonian people the right to the name.

Samaras told yesterday's KATHIMERINI daily that it is "incomprehensible and historically untenable that the Macedonian name stands for a Slav people".

Samaras added that Greece recognizes only a Moslem minority on its territory, in western Thrace.

The party letter said historic science had already cleared up dilemmas that Samaras is still upholding and that a clear line should be drawn between ancient Macedonians and today's Macedonians.

The letter adds that the denial of a nationally affirmed people such as the Macedonians does not contribute to developing good neighbor relations and lasting friendship between Yugoslav and Greece, especially between the Macedonian and Greek peoples.

Kosovo Strike Ends; Albanian Shops Still Closed

LD0409120290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1041 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Pristina, 4 Sep (TANJUG)—After the one-day general strike on Monday [3 September] in the troubled Yugoslav Kosovo Province, work has returned to normal on Tuesday.

Ethnic Albanians, who on Monday protested the special measures introduced two months ago by the state organs of the Republic of Serbia in its southern province—Kosovo, returned on Tuesday morning to their schools and enterprises.

However, the authorities have on Monday sealed certain shops belonging to ethnic Albanians which remained closed during the strike because of disregarding the prescribed working hours, so that a large number of shops remained closed on Tuesday too. Ethnic Albanians make up some 90 percent of the province's population. For the past ten or so years, a strong movement for independence of this province from the mother republic—Republic of Serbia—has been in evidence. Two months ago, the Assembly of Serbia dissolved the provincial assembly and government and sacked a large number of ethnic Albanians who boycotted the republican state measures.

Strikers 'Will Not Be Dismissed'

LD0409210290 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Excerpt] Kosovo was primarily peaceful today. Inspectors there claim that workers who went on strike yesterday will not be dismissed. School children are still segregated. Accusations against the Zagreb medical school were made. These are the topics of Dino Ramovic's report:

[Ramovic] In Kosovo yesterday, inspectors checked on 3,773 restaurants, hotels, and shops which were not open. On that occasion they doubled padlocked—that is, sealed and permanently closed—1,413 places. The stand was unanimously adopted today that the salaries of the workers who did not work yesterday will be reduced by their daily wage, and that managers will be dismissed from their posts. This information, which we have just received from the provincial secretariat for inspection, will probably lessen euphoria and dampen demands made by local authorities that rigorous dismissals be undertaken of people who went on strike. The inspection bodies certainly carefully studied legal regulations, and realized that rigorous demands have no legal foundations, regardless of the wishes of politicians. [passage omitted]

Serbian Presidency Issues Statement

LD0509042590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1606 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Sep (TANJUG)—At its session today, the Presidency of the Republic of Serbia, presided over by president of the Serbian Presidency, Slobodan Milosevic, stated that Kosovo's public services, vital industrial facilities, and Serbia's state organs functioned effectively during the one-day strike organized by Albanian separatists. This unsuccessful strike, a statement from today's sesson says, caused damage only to the Albanians who responded to the separatist movement's call. The strike, in the Presidency's view, represents yet another contribution to the list of negative effects brought about by the separatists, who denied Albanian children education, patients of medical treatment, and Albanian workers—who had been awaiting their jobs for years—of employment. Everything the Albanian separatist movement has done so far for the Albanians only leads the Albanian nationality into poverty and destitution.

The Presidency of Serbia calls on the Albanians in Kosovo to disobey the Albanian separatists and carry out their civil duties and assert their rights as Serbia's citizens with full rights. They should rest assured that the Serbian state will protect them from all the pressures, retaliations, and violence the Albanian separatists and inflicting on them, just as it has protected Serbs, Montenegrins, Muslems, Croats, Turks, Romanies, and other citizens in Kosovo.

The Presidency of Serbia calls on the Albanians in Kosovo to draw their own conclusions about the things engineered by the Albanian separatists and to accept the measures that the Republic of Serbia takes in Kosovo to ensure peace and security for all citizens and the successful development of this part of Serbia.

Considering the course of the preparations for adoptping the law on electing peoples' deputies and the law on electing the republic's president, the Presidency decided to suggest to the Assembly of the Republic of Serbia to introduce provisions into the text of these laws whereby: Firstly, electioneering must not exceed three months, nor can it be shorter than one month; secondly, the number of voters' signatures needed for candidature should be reduced to 100; and thirdly, the monitoring commissions at polling stations should be enabled to have insight into the whole election procedure, including their presence when votes are counted.

As for the law on electing the republic's president, the Presidency maintains that the age limit for election of the republic's president should be eliminated, the statement says.

Call for Adherence to 'Civil Duties'

LD0409211390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1859 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Sep (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Republic of Serbia called today all ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, the province incorporated in this Yugoslav republic, to disobey Albanian separatists and to begin fulfilling their civil duties. At the same time the Presidency promised it would protect them from the separatists' revanchism.

Serbia's topmost state leadership at today's session appealed to Kosovo Albanians to accept the measures being taken in the province to the end of ensuring peace and security for all citizens.

The Monday [3 September] strike in Kosovo was held following a call by the separatists in protest against the special measures that the leadership of the Republic of Serbia was now implementing in this province. The Presidency of Serbia warned that all that had so far been done by the separatist movement for Kosovo Albanians was leading into misery and poverty.

Special measures were introduced in Kosovo in July after the ethnic Albanian deputies' unconstitutional attempt at proclaiming the province a republic. Ethnic Albanians today make up majority population in Kosovo.

Serbian Movement Plans Protest at U.S. Embassy

LD0309160390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1241 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Excerpt] Pristina, 3 Sep (TANJUG)—The Kosovo and Metohija branch of New Democracy - the Movement for

Serbia [Nova Demokratija - Pokret za Srbiju] today began to collect the signatures of citizens of this province as a protest against the U.S. Embassy because of the "extremely arrogant and inconsiderate attitude of U.S. congressmen and senators toward representatives of the Serbian and Montenegrin people" during their recent visit to Pristina.

This, it was said at today's press conference, is the first action of the Kosovo and Metohija branch of this new party, which came into being after the disintegration of the Kosovo Socialist Youth Federation. Signatures will also be collected over the coming two days. This protest action, it was intimated, will end on Thursday, 6 September with peaceful demonstrations in front of the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade.

Kosovo Alliance Leader on Talks With Congressmen

LD3108200990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1222 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Pristina, 31 Aug (TANJUG)—Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, stated at today's press conference that "the Kosovo Alternative is satisfied with the talks" with the U.S. congressional delegation which visited Kosovo two days ago. He added that the talks "had a diplomatic character" and that for this reason journalists did not attend the talks.

The leader of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, and members of other alternative groups, condemned, as they put it, police "brutality" against the citizens who gathered to welcome the U.S. congressmen. The gathered people, in their view, did not endanger public order and peace. According to Rugova, the police overreacted out of nervousness; indeed, "ever since February the police have had no opportunity to beat the people."

'250,000' Attend Funeral of Kosovar Soldier

AU0409202490 Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 31 Aug 90 p 4

[Emin Azemi, Blerim Reka report: "Democracy Will Triumph in Kosovo, Too"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Soldier Fatmir Adem Tafaj was buried in the village of Grejkoc near Suva Reka the day before yesterday in the presence of more than 250,000 citizens. According to official statements in a telegram sent from the barracks to the appropriate authorities of Suva Reka Commune, soldier Fatmir Tafaj died in an accident, of which no details were given.

As we learned from members of his family, up to the time of his death Fatmir had served at Sombor, Bihac, Sisak, and most recently at Nova Gorica near Zagreb. The deceased had said in telephone calls and letters to his family that he was happy in the Yugoslav People's Army and had no special problems. He had emphasized that he had many friends in the Army from different parts of Yugoslavia. He also wrote in a letter that he respected his superiors.

Witnesses stated that two officers and three privates brought the coffin in a military helicopter. Before the burial, Fatmir's relatives opened the coffin, but what they saw was a mutilated and wretched corpse. His relatives stated that one bullet had passed through the palm of his right hand, and another through his back, while the hail of automatic rifle fire ended in the lower part of his face. [passage omitted]

Kosovo LC Committee Begins Congress Preparation

LD0109140790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1114 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Text] Pristina, 1 Sep (TANJUG)—The Provincial Committee of the Kosovo League of Communists [LC] has today decided to hold the 16th extraordinary Kosovo LC conference on 27 September. The plenum also adopted a decision on setting up a committee for the preparation of the first conference of the Kosovo provincial organization of the Socialist Party of Serbia and on the election of delegates for the conference.

A report from the Council of Comrades was adopted without discussion. The council was tasked to examine responsibility of the LC Provincial Committee members Iljaz Ramailji, former Kosovo Assembly vice-president; Nazmi Misini, RILINDJA chief and responsible editor; and Agim Malja, former director general of Pristina Radio and Television. Provincial Committee members unanimously adopted the council's proposal to expel all three of them from the LC, because they acted contrary to the LC orientations.

Serbian Movement Calls for National Declaration

LD0409220790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1918 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Sep (TANJUG)—The leadership of the Serbian Movement for Renewal (SPO), the Nationalist opposition party in Yugoslavia's republic Serbia, informed the press today that it called on the leaders of the major Serbian opposition parties, the Serbian Orthodox Church, the Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Union of Writers, Matica Srpska and the Matica of Emigrants literary and cultural societies to adopt a "declaration on the protection of the nation."

This document would serve as the basis for Serbian National Program which was assessed by leader of the SPO, Vuk Draskovic, as a first-class political task in the situation when the Serbian people was threatened again with genocide.

The SPO leadership confirmed today that despite obstructions on the part of the ruling Socialist Party of

Serbia, a popular gathering of Serbs in Novi Pazar on September 9 would take place in the organization of the SPO.

Clashes Between Serbs, Muslims Reported in Bosnia

AU0509084390 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 30 Aug 90 p 4

[A. Kaurin report: "Bosnia Too Has Gotten Its Kosovo"]

[Text] Sarajevo—After a fight and shooting in the village of Kozja Luka near Foca it is quite clear that Bosnia-Hercegovina has also obtained its Kosovo. Frictions between different nationalities in the commune of Foca culminated three days ago with a fight between youngsters of different nationality in which Munib Podrug was wounded. The news about this spread through Foca and the surrounding villages very quickly. Panic and fear of further clashes were felt everywhere. The news that a Serb fired a shot at a Muslim has caused unrest. The Foca Secretariat for Internal Affairs only yesterday issued an official statement which somehow calmed the situation.

Yesterday, Himzo Selimovic, commander of the Foca militia station, told us about the incident: On Sunday [26 August] night, a fight broke out and shots were fired in the village of Kozja Luka. Munib Podrug was wounded. According to the original story, Podrug was wounded by a Serb.

However, our experts and the investigating judge established that Podrug was wounded with a bullet fired from his brother's pistol. The news that a Serb fired a shot at a Muslim is not correct at all. According to witnesses, before shooting there was indeed a fight between the youngsters of Serbian and Muslim nationality.

It is also true, as witnesses say, that a gang of Slavko Vukovic went to this Muslim village, and that the members of his gang were stopping cars and sang songs glorifying Draza Mihajlovic, thus provoking the Muslims. Investigation is still under way, the commander of the Foca militia station said.

Foca, a small town on the river Drina, is indeed experiencing hard days because of friction between different nationalities. In the last two days night watches were organized in the surrounding Muslim villages. On Tuesday night, an unidentified person set fire to a stable belonging to Hasan Smejkan from the village of Godijeno. Some people link this to his involvement with the Party of Democratic Action. The inhabitants of the village of Potpec openly talk about their night watches. Another fire was also reported in the village of Cvilin. The fire was the cause of the fight between Zdravko Skobo and Ibro Hadzic. Hadzic subsequently died. There are many other examples.

Croatian Prime Minister on Problems With Serbia

AU0409143490 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 4 Sep 90 p 3

[Maren Koester-Hetzendorf report: "Yugoslavia Will Not Last Long"]

[Text] Zagreb—"The tensions between Serbs and Croats are not our main problem. They are insignificant in view of Yugoslavia's crisis. For a decade, the country has struggled against decay." In an interview for DIE PRESSE, Josip Manolic, Croatia's new prime minister, who has only been in office for 11 days, tried to dampen the impression that Croatia has become a new trouble spot in already disrupted Yugoslavia.

The latent conflict between Croatian Serbs and Croatia escalated 14 days ago when, against the will of the Zagreb leadership, the Croatian Serbs forced a referendum on the Croatian Serbs' autonomy status with barricades and armed men.

Manolic replaced Prime Minister Stipe Mesic, who was only in office since June. Mesic is to represent Croatia in Belgrade in the future. In the opinion of observers, he was "removed with praise" because he opposed the Serbs all too openly in the conflict. His successor Manolic is a close confidant of President Franjo Tudjman, whose "Croatian Democratic Community" has been in power since the elections in April.

Manolic does not want to attach great importance to the Croatian-Serbian conflict. "There will be no referendum," the lawyer stated and withdrew behind formalities. He pointed out that the organizers of the referendum did not apply for it.

The "Serbian Democratic Party" tries to gather the Croation Serbs by "terrorist pressure." "So far, the party has had little success with the Serbs." For example, in the parliamentary elections the party was only able to get five deputies into parliament. The other 24 Serbian deputies entered parliament as representatives of the "Party of Democratic Changes" (former Communist Party), he said.

Is it intended to simply ignore the conflict? No, in a rule-of-law state "illegal guards and barricades" simply cannot be ignored, Prime Minister Manolic said. "The problem might have been eliminated by police measures, but we did not want bloodshed." The government banks on a peaceful solution, he said.

A parliamentary resolution should be the basis. In it, all democratic forces are called upon "to explain to the Serbian people that the new Croatian constitution does not jeopardize the Serbs." The Serbs fear that they will be disadvantaged by the new constitution, which is to be adopted in October. Manolic sees no reason for this. The Serbs can have their own cultural associations, writing, media, schools, and political parties. "And if they call for additional rights that other minorities have, they will be granted them."

However, one thing is clear: "The Croatian people do not want to give the Serbs more rights than they have themselves." The Serbs' resistance is understandable to a certain degree because they are deprived of privileges that they had during the old Communist Party regime. At that time, the 11 percent Croatian Serbs were overproportionately represented in the police, the administration, and politics.

Referring to the problem of the Serbs, Manolic also did not want to accept the right to self-determination, which otherwise is a maxim of Croatian policy. The prime minister pointed out that only one-fourth of the Serbian minority lives in a compact settlement area. "This can neither be compared geographically nor politically to the situation in Kosovo." The Serbian leadership has no feeling for the "reality in Kosovo," that is, that 80 percent of the population is Albanian. "The past is an excessive emotional burden for the Serbian leadership. It prevents it from dealing with the problem."

In Manolic's opinion, Kosovo is Serbia's greatest problem. "It is like an open wound that is constantly bleeding." If Belgrade does not really deal with it, the problem will not be solved, he said. Is the conflict therefore an exclusively Serbian affair?—All all-Yugoslav attempts to achieve a solution were frustrated, Manolic answered. "The Albanian people first have to be granted the right to decide on their future in a plebiscite."

Manolic does not think that today's federative Yugoslavia "will last long." All-Yugoslav parties are the prerequisite for nationwide parliamentary elections, as desired by Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic. However, there is no basis for them in the republics, Manolic said. "The political space has already been distributed."

Independently of this, Manolic is convinced that nationwide elections will become "superfluous" because some republics will agree on a confederation. Manolic can absolutely envisage several confederations on the territory of today's Yugoslavia. The prerequisite is, of course, the application of the peoples' right to self-determination, he said.

In principle, Croatia and Slovenia are open for a very broad confederation, Manolic stressed and explained: The vision of a "European confederation" goes beyond Yugoslavia. Albania also must not be excluded. For Croatia's prime minister, the EC is "the model for the coexistence of free peoples."

Manolic first expects Bosnia-Hercegovina to join a confederation of Croatia and Slovenia. However, the Croatian head of government is alarmed: "A problem will be the hegemonic desire to seize Bosnia-Hercegovina." He thinks that this is the wish of the Serbian opposition to the right of Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic. Does this desire also exist in Croatia? "This might apply to some individuals, but they do not have political influence."

But then Manolic added a warning addressed to Belgrade: "Of course, we cannot quietly tolerate such wishes. Then we will protect the rights of the people in Bosnia-Hercegovina." "In the first place" this is to be done with political means, Manolic said, without going into further detail.

The Croat does not think that the Army is a factor that threatens the process of democratization in Yugoslavia. "It is a fact that the democratic processes have also penetrated the Army." A main pillar of the Army was the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, he said. "But it does not exist any longer." It broke apart when the Slovenes and Croats left the 14th Party Congress in January.

It is true that this confused "people who live and work in the Army." But there are also others who "understand that the democratic processes are a way to achieve a new coexistence."

Manolic thinks that there are no real indications that the Army might interfere in Yugoslavia's political development.

'2,000' Serbians Hold Anti-Croat Protest in Knin

LD0409164990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1435 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Knin, 4 Sep (TANJUG)—Having learned that representatives of the Croatian Interior Ministry arrived in the Municipal Assembly of Knin, approximately 2,000 people rallied in front of the public security station in Knin at about 1500 this afternoon. The rally was caused by rumors that replacements and appointments of constables [redarstvenic] to responsible duties will be carried out in the Knin police station.

The rally was addressed by Jovan Opacic and Dusan Zellenbaba, representatives of the Serbian democratic party to the Croatian Assembly, and by Milan Martic, inspector in the Knin public security station.

Only after they informed the rally that the Croatian Interior Ministry representatives arrived not as replacements but for talks and exchanges of views, the people started to disperse.

Among other things, Jovan Opacic proposed that political negotiations should start as soon as possible between the delegations of the Serbian Democratic Party and the Serbian National Council [Srpsko Nacionalno Vijece] representing one side, and the Presidency of the Republic of Croatia and the republican government representing the other. Plitvice Lakes was proposed to be the place of negotiations, as a "neutral territory".

Serbians Complain Over Makeup of Croat Commission

LD0409204190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1457 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Knin, 4 Sep (TANJUG)—The municipal assemblies of Knin, Benkovac, Obrovac, Donji Lapac, and

Gracac sent today a telex to the Croat Assembly stating that they "do not acknowledge for the time being the authority of any commission charged with establishing the state of affairs in these municipalities."

Reacting to the recently formed interparty legislative commission, headed by Stipe Mesic and charged with visiting these municipalities, the municipal assemblies state that "the Serbian people do not hold themselves responsible for the newly created political situation," since the situation is, as they put it, "the result of moves made by the Croatian Government and Presidency." At the same time they find it especially objectionably that the commission "does not contain any legitimate representatives of the Serbian nation in Croatia." Sima Rajic's appointment to the commission is regarded as "a provocation" because his mandate "was given to him by the Croat Assembly, and not by the Serbian people in Croatia."

The message concludes that the such a commission, "composed of representatives of just one party," could only negotiate, they warn, with "the Serbian National Council [Srpsko Narodno Vece]."

Croat Interior Ministry Delegation Visits Knin

AU0409184890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] A delegation of the Croatian Ministry of Police has visited Knin. While talks were under way in the militia station, several thousand citizens gathered in front of it.

The delegation from Zagreb will convey to the Croatian leadership the demands of the Serbian National Council, such as, for example, that the Internal Affairs Secretariat be returned to Knin and that ethnic Serb militiamen be given back their jobs. After the talks ended, the people dispersed peacefully.

Slovene, Croat Defense, Interior Ministers Meet

AU0409164590 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 4 Sep

[Text] The Republican Secretariat for Information of Slovenia has announced that the minister of national defense and the minister of internal affairs of the Republic of Croatia, Martin Spegelj and Josip Boljkovac, visited Slovenia yesterday. They had talks with their Slovene counterparts Janez Jansa and Igor Bavcar on the possible ways to solve military issues in a confederation and the internal aspects of defense and security of Slovenia and Croatia.

TANJUG Refutes Charges Over Knin Reportage

LD3109203490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1226 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Aug (TANJUG)—Analyzing the quality of reports on events which took place in Knin on 17 August, TANJUG news agency has established that its news reporting on the use of Yugoslav People's Army units was broadcast without the necessary verification. TANJUG issued an official denial of the news the same evening.

In spite of the fact that a TANJUG reporter, like other journalists, worked under conditions in which dramatic information and misinformation kept coming and going, with no possibility of official verification, the agency holds that serious professional mistakes were made. A detailed report on that was written and forwarded to the federal Executive Council.

In this connection we stress that conditions for reporting from Knin are still far from being improved. TANJUG refutes attempts accusing it of being the exclusive culprit for "the Knin case."

Information on proclaiming "the state of war" (17 August) was issued according to an official municipal source, while information on the fraternization of people with the Army, which is also ascribed to TANJUG, did not come from the Knin reporter.

TANJUG refutes all political insinuations and accusations that this was a part of a "scenario" directed against democratic processes, Yugoslavia, or any Yugoslav republic.

TANJUG news agency took all measures to prevent similar mistakes. In this connection an interrepublication board acknowledged the principles on acting in new political relations and democratic processes adopted and presented to the public in June this year.

According to these orientations, TANJUG performs its professional duties "as a nonparty agency, whose main task is complete and professional reporting on events in all parts of Yugoslavia and the world."

Tudjman, Naval Official Discuss Cooperation

LD3108221390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1657 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Split, 31 Aug (TANJUG)—Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, today received in the Dalmatia villa in Split Vice Admiral Mile Kandic, commander of the (Split) Naval District.

According to a statement by the Croat Ministry of Information, the talks were very cordial and open and related to all questions of existing and possible cooperation between the military and civil authorities, taking into consideration the stressed Adriatic orientation of the Republic of Croatia.

It was stressed that the Croatian Presidency particularly values the cooperation and contribution of the Army in projects to supply water and electricity to the islands of Vis, Lastovo, Korcula, Hvar, and some coastal areas.

It was likewise stressed that stimulation should be given to industrial cooperation between the Army and civilian enterprises at all levels where general benefit can be derived from this.

President Franjo Tudjman, the statement adds, proposed the founding of a joint committee of the army and the republican Ministries of Defense and Maritime Affairs, in order to improve the coordination of all undertakings where there is cooperation between the Army and industry.

As regards relations in society, it was concluded that the democratization of general life in the Republic of Croatia must also lead to the democratization of relations between the civil and military authorities to insure the sovereignty of the republic and to strengthen its democratic authority.

The reception was also attended by Antun Vrdoljak, vice president of the Republic of Croatia; Martin Spegelj, minister of defense of the Republic of Croatia; and Dr. Davorin Rudolf, minister of maritime affairs in Croatia.

Croat Municipal Grouping Ruled Unconstitutional

LD3008205790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1453 GMT 30 AUG 90

[Text] Zagreb, 29 Aug (TANJUG)—The Constitutional Court of Croatia, Croatian Radio reported this afternoon in its daily news bulletin, has considered, at the suggestion of the minister for justice and administration of the Republic of Croatia, the decision of the municipalities of Knin, Donji Lapac, Gracac, Vojnic, Dvor, Glina, Obrovac, and Benkovac to establish their Community of Municipalities of Northern Dalmatia and Lika, and eventually found it unconstitutional.

The decision of the municipality of Knin does not comply with the Constitution, since none of the municipal assemblies are, nor were they, constitutionally entitled to set up a community of municipalities, establish its territory, and legislate as to which municipalities make up this community of municipalities. The republic's political and territorial system—the Constitutional Court cites in its explanation—can only be endorsed through the Constitution and established laws.

The Municipal Assembly of Knin violated the Constitution of the republic by its decision's provision whereby this decision came in effect once at least two municipalities have adopted it in its original form. According to articles 290 and 291 of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, regulations and general legislation of sociopolitical communities' organs, including municipal assemblies, cannot come into effect before they have been announced. The decision of the Municipal Assembly of Knin was, albeit with a delay, announced on the first day this month. On that date, however amendment 69 to the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia was in force according to which communities of municipalities could no longer be formed, since the constitutional law dismissed the existing communities.

The decisions and documents passed by the other municipal assemblies following the decision of the Municipal Assembly of Knin therefore assume a form of joining an unconstitutionally founded community of municipalities. The municipal assemblies of Gracac, Vojnic, Dvor, Glina, Obrovac, and Benkovac were therefore making decisions in direct contradiction to the Constitution.

By these decisions and documents, it was stated at the end of the Croatian radio program, the Municipal Assembly of Knin had infringed on the republic's political system. This is precisely why the Constitutional Court annulled the said decisions and documents.

Croat Ministry Denies Employing Renowned Assassin

LD0509130690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1221 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Sep (TANJUG)—The Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia has denied reports that Miro Baresic, reknown [word as received] Yugoslav terrorist who assassinated Yugoslav Ambassador to Sweden Vladimir Rolovic, had been engaged as an instructor in this ministry.

Barasic was neither in Zagreb or Yugoslavia, is said in a statement issued by the ministry Tuesday [4 September] evening in response to reports in certain Yugoslav papers. [as received]

Baresic shot dead Ambasador Rolovic in Sweden in 1971 and was sentenced to life imprisonment at a trial in Stockholm.

After an unsuccessful escape attempt from a high security prison, he was released in 1972 in response to demands by the hijackers of a SAS plane. He went to Paraguay, via Madrid.

In 1980 Baresic was extradited to Sweden. At a renewed trial, his sentence was reduced to 18 years in prison. He was released in 1987.

Vojvodina Presidency Supports Draft Constitution

LD3108183890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1019 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Novi Sad, 31 Aug (TANJUG)—At its session today the Vojvodina Presidency approved the draft constitution of Serbia, assessing it as a modern and clearly defined legal document which expresses the wishes of the majority of the republic's citizens. The Presidency supports Yugoslavia as a federative community or, should the country break up, a united and democratic state of Serbia. The Presidency also approved, with a number of objections and proposals, draft laws on the election of people's deputies and of president of the Republic. A message was conveyed to the SFRY Presidency in which the Vojvodina Presidency insist on consistent adherence to the Constitution during the election of a new Croatian member of the SFRY Presidency.

Amendments to Macedonian Constitution Proposed

LD0209125790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1554 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Text] Skoplje, 1 Sep (TANJUG)—At its session today the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Macedonia, chaired by President Gligorie Gogovski, opted for the amendment to the Constitution of the SR of Macedonia which replaces the existing Presidency with the post of president of the SR of Macedonia.

Considering the proposed amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Macedonia and the draft constitutional law on the implemention of amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Macedonia, as well as proposals and remarks by the leaders of the independent political parties registered in the republic, the council also adopted the proposition that in the future a government of the SR of Macedonia should replace the Executive Council. The republican Executive Council is in favor of Macedonia's Government assuming the functions of a classical government and being elected by the Assembly of the SR of Macedonia.

It is also proposed tha the amendments revise the existing definition of municipality as a sociopolitical community into a local self-governing community of citizens of one or more inhabited areas or parts of an inhabited area.

In line with the changes to the federal law on state administration, the council pressed for urgent depoliticization to be carried out in all the organs of the administration in the SR of Macedonia, the republican Executive Council of Macedonia says in its statement from the session.

Macedonian Executive Council on Security Situation

LD0209212690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1822 GMT 2 Sep 90

[Text] Skopje, 2 Sep (TANJUG)—The process of radical changes in political, economic, and social life in Macedonia is being accompanied by the serious destruction of political life in the republic, which is leading to the deterioration of the security situation, especially in the municipalities of Gostivar and Tetovo. This was stressed at today's several-hour-long extraordinary session of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Macedonia. The session was devoted to the current security situation in the republic, especially in the area of the communes of Gostivar and Tetovo.

It was assessed that both the intelligence-gathering and subversive propaganda activity of the foreign intelligence services, especially of neighboring countries, as well as the activity of hostile emigres, has increased and intensified.

The Party for Democratic Prosperity of Macedonia [Partija za Demokratski Prosperitet Makedonije] with its headquarters in Tetovo, is being used largely as a favorable possibility for the illegal and unconstitutional activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists. It is via this party that one or two of its members are trying to legalize hostile activity.

The Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization - Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (VMRO-DPMNE) whose individual members call for violent tactics and the application of other violent methods, and also pronounce sentences of death on "disobedient" members, is also adopting a militant stance. This party is provoking national intolerance vis-a-vis the Serbian people and favors the Bulgarian nation, although in Bulgaria the existence of the Macedonian nation is denied.

The Executive Council of Macedonian SR Assembly requests of all the competent state organs and services in the republic and municipalities that they react in a timely fashion and energetically suppress all unconstitutional and illegal phenomena and manifestations, says the statement from the extraordinary session of the Macedonian Republican Executive Council.

Reform Alliance, Party of Yugoslavs To Cooperate

AU0209192590 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Aug 90 p 5

[E. Vecovska report: "Cooperation With the Party of Yugoslavs"]

[Text] Belgrade—The Initiative Committee of the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia and the Party of Yugoslavs have reached an agreement on very close cooperation. In a conversation lasting several hours between the representatives of the Party of Yugoslavs, led by its president Ante Ercegovic, and the president of the Initiative Committee of the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia, Ante Markovic, the two sides expressed a strong desire to jointly carry out the Yugoslav program and the Yugoslav and social reforms.

The representatives of the Party of Yugoslavs said that they fully accept and support the program of the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia.

Answering the question of who could become a member of the alliance, Ante Markovic, president of the Initiative Committee of the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia, said:

"The alliance is primarily a movement of the reform-oriented citizens which wants to maintain complete, direct, cooperation with citizens and the initiative committees which the citizens themselves have founded throughout Yugoslavia.

"By accepting the alliance's program, a certain number of parties takes the view that there is no point in carrying on independently since their stands are identical to those of the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia. Other parties, too, are accepting the alliance's program but want to retain their own identity and act as a collective member within the alliance. This is the case with the Party of Yugoslavs. We welcome talks and cooperation with these parties. The time and future activities will show whether they need to act independently and to what to extent.

"The alliance will also conduct talks with other such parties, but will assess its interests in undertaking joint political activities, including the election campaign and election activities, on an individual basis."

Green Party To Register Alone; Outside Coalition

LD3108140490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1137 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Aug (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's Green Party will enter into Serbia's register of political separately, since its entry in the federal register does not give it the right to participate in the republican multiparty elections.

According to recent public opinion polls, the Green Party could receive up to 10 per cent of votes in Serbia, placing it immediately behind the Socialist Party of Serbia.

President of the Green Party Dragan Jovanovic told TANJUG that for the time being, the party's Executive Committee believes that the party should not enter a coalition with other opposition parties, since European experiences show that the Green Party ends up being let down and its ideas compromised in such coalitions.

'New Democracy' Party Founded in Valjevo

LD0209152590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1239 GMT 2 Sep 90

[Summary] Valjevo, 2 Sep (TANJUG)—Two hundred people attended the founding today of New Democracy - the Movement for Valjevo [Nova Demokratija—Pokret za Valjevo] in Valjevo. The aim of the new party is to promote the economic, cultural, and ecological development of the Valjevo area.

Exports, Imports Rise Through Mid-August

AU0109204790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Aug 90 p 3

[Unattributed TANJUG report: "Federal Institute for Statistics: Exports Rising Along with the Deficit"]

[Excerpt] Belgrade—The Yugoslav exports from the beginning of the year until 13 August were 16.1 percent higher than during the same period last year, reaching the value of $8.842 billion, the Federal Institute for Statistics announces.

Goods valuing $7.212 billion were exported to the convertible currencies area, which is 22 percent more than a year ago. Exports to developed countries grew most: 29.9 percent. Exports to the clearing account area were reduced by 4.3 percent, and amounted to $1.63 billion.

In the same period, imports increased 27.7 percent and amounted to $10.371 billion. Goods imported from the convertible currencies area were worth $8.925 billion (a 34.8 percent increase), and those from the clearing account area $1.447 billion (a fall of 5.5 percent). [passage omitted]

Sandzak Muslims Demanding 'Cultural Autonomy'

AU0509094090 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 25 Aug 90 p 7

[A. Kaurin report: "They Want Cultural Autonomy"]

[Excerpt] Sarajevo—The Sandzak Muslims can no longer be stopped on their way to cultural autonomy. The Sandzak has recently been experiencing hard days. The bi-national population is increasingly often at odds with one another. There are even foreboding thoughts that the people will soon experience the fate of those living in neighboring Kosovo. The continuous pressure of the press and other media from Belgrade is causing more and more unrest.

The Party of Democratic Action already has some 20,000 members. The leaders of the party, Alija Izetbegovic and Adil Zulfikarpasic, have begun to rally people, and people trust them. The leaders' demand for cultural autonomy is strongly supported in the Sandzak. The demand was sent to the Serbian leadership, but Belgrade has not replied yet.

As regards the demand for cultural autonomy, Dr. Sulejman Ugljanin, leader of the Sandzak Party of Democratic Action, said:

"We have our names, customs, and culture. Unfortunately, we must fight for our cultural identity, education, and media. The people are desirous of their national being. We will no longer be a second-rate nation. We will demand everything of which we have been deprived. The press that comes here in the Sandzak is falsely presenting the picture of democracy in this part of the country. We have had enough of tricks and lies. The Sandzak is not mentioned anywhere in school textbooks, in primary or high school textbooks." [passage omitted]